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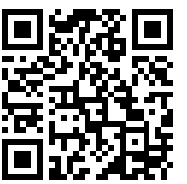

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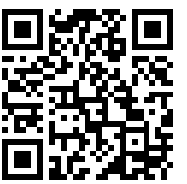

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Studies in Philology

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UNPUBLISHED REFERENCES TO BLAKE BY HAYLEY AND LADY HESKETH

By Hoxie Neale Fairchild

The following notes are drawn from the correspondence of William Hayley and Lady Hesketh contained in British Museum Add. MS. 30, 803. The two stout volumes of letters comprising parts *A* and *B* of this MS. were purchased at Sotheby's on May 20, 1878, but I have made no attempt to trace their previous history. Disregarding an undated letter of Hayley's which must have been written toward the end of the summer of 1794, the correspondence begins on July 30, 1797, and ends on December 18, 1803. There are a few evident gaps, and Hayley's letters cease entirely after January 2, 1803.

Though this MS. contains a great deal of valuable information relating to William Cowper, students of that poet seem to have examined it only very cursorily. We may be sure, however, that the forthcoming biography of Cowper by Professor Neilson C. Hannay will make full use of it; and I have no desire to deprive him of primacy in his special field. The MS. also reveals, however, a number of references to William Blake during the period when he lived under Hayley's patronage at Felpham. Since I can say with some confidence that no book dealing with Blake draws upon this material, I venture to summarize it here. The references, while not of great importance, add something to our knowledge of Blake, and add a good deal to our understanding of the atmosphere which surrounded him from the late spring of 1800 to the autumn of 1803.

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Of the letters containing allusions to Blake, all those by Lady Hesketh are dated from Clifton (now a part of Bristol) except those written between May 28 and July 22, 1802, which are dated from Bath; the Hayley letters are dated from Felpham, Sussex. In quoting from the letters, I have felt it unnecessary to preserve the careless and confusing punctuation of the originals, the maddening underscoring of words, or the use of capitals when lower case letters would now be employed.

On July 5, 1800, less than three months after Cowper's death, Lady Hesketh wrote Hayley, urging him to undertake the late poet's biography. Hayley replied (July 22) that Lady Hesketh herself should perform this task. He wrote that he would be able, however, to furnish the book with an engraving from Romney's portrait of Cowper, "for a most worthy, enthusiastic, affectionate engraver, who has within these few days furnished for me a small drawing (from a most wonderful portrait, as large as life, which my dear crippled child contrived to execute of himself in crayons) has attached himself so much to me, that he has taken a cottage in this little marine village to pursue his art in various branches under my auspices; and as he has infinite genius with a most engaging simplicity of character, I hope he will execute many admirable things in this sequestered scene, with the aid of an excellent wife to whom he has been married seventeen years, and who shares his labours and his talents."

Lady Hesketh had little difficulty in persuading Hayley that he, after all, would be the most suitable biographer. We hear no more of the enthusiastic engraver until September 13, when Hayley, by way of explaining his delay in gathering Cowper material, writes: "I am at present finishing a work devoted to the memory of my dear child, which I mean to print in November, with two engraved portraits of him." These portraits were presumably by Blake.[1]

On February 25, 1801, Hayley returns to the question of illustrations for the *Life of Cowper*. "I have," he reminds Lady Hesketh, "an excellent enthusiastic creature, a friend of Flaxman's, under

[1] This work, which was to consist chiefly of devotional sonnets inspired by Thomas Alphonso's illness and death, was never published. One of the portraits was no doubt that referred to in the letter of July 22.

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my own eye residing in this village. He is by profession an engraver, but he says I have taught him to paint in miniature; and in truth he has improved his excellent versatile talents very much in this retired scene, where he has constant access to several very fine works of art by my friend Romney, and by that very wonderful young artist, my dear departed child. I intend that this very amiable man shall execute, under my own inspection, all the plates for the work projected; and I am persuaded he will produce a head of Cowper that will surprise and delight you; and assuredly it will be executed *con amore,* as he idolizes the poet, and will have as fine a portrait [Romney's] to work from as ever pencil produced."

Blake's well-known miniature from Romney's crayon portrait of Cowper was sent to Lady Hesketh the following month. She had always admired Lawrence's tamely amiable interpretation of her cousin, and she was intensely anxious that the biography should gloss over Cowper's madness. One is not surprised, therefore, at her reaction to Blake's miniature: "I cannot restrain my pen from declaring that I think it dreadful! shocking! and that I entreat you on my knees not to suffer so horrible a representation of our angelic friend to be presented to the public . . . I am sure that on those who never saw the original it would make an impression never to be effaced, that it was some unhappy man, who, with eyes starting from his head, was escaping from his keepers!"[2]

We find no further references to Blake or his work until November 14, 1801, when Hayley thanks Lady Hesketh for her "promise to indulge the laudable wishes of the worthy artist, who devotes his hand and all his faculties most fervently to our dear Cowper, with the original sketch of Lawrence." Eight days later Hayley promises that the Lawrence sketch of Cowper will be treated with care: "It shall not be taken out of the frame, if it arrives to gratify my worthy artist who works constantly in my study, as our respective labours never clash and I have great pleasure in promoting his success, for he is in truth an excellent creature with admirable talents. I wish your little ingenious Catherine[3] was

[2] March 19, 1801.

[3] Catherine Fanshawe, whose verses, paintings, and decorated playing-cards both Hayley and Lady Hesketh admired hugely.

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near enough to see some productions of his pencil." The sketch arrived at Felpham between November 22 and December 7, for on the latter date Hayley says that he prefers Lawrence's original to Bartolozzi's engraving of it. "Well, Heaven grant to the kind enthusiastic engraver at my side ability to be more delicately faithful to the proper impression of this invaluable portrait."

During the early months of 1802, Cowper's friends were discussing plans for the monument to be erected over his tomb at East Dereham. In this connection Hayley writes, "I have made a device of which I send you a neat copy from the kind hand of the friendly zealous engraver who daily works by my side and who flatters me so far as to say that he never saw any monumental design more modestly appropriate to the honoured dead."[4] Another of Hayley's "devices" is sent on March 13 with the statement that both he and Blake prefer it to all previous suggestions.

From a letter of May 24, we get the first intimation of a typically Hayleyesque scheme to find work for Blake. The engraver's patron warns Lady Hesketh: "Do not be surprised if you receive in about a fortnight a bundle of ballads, for I have a wicked project of turning your ladyship into a ballad-monger for the sake of serving the excellent friendly artist who has been working so long and so patiently by my side on our portraits of Cowper. He has drawn and engraved some very ingenious designs of his own to a series of singular ballads, one of which he proposes to publish every month with three prints annexed to it, for the moderate price of half a crown."[5] Will Lady Hesketh try to dispose of a dozen? Her ladyship replies on May 28 that she will be glad to help, though this is not "the season" at Bath.

Accordingly a few of the ballads on the elephant were sent to Bath either on or shortly before June 10, when Hayley announces that fact and apologizes for the smallness of the consignment by saying, "The busy artist had not time to furnish a larger number of these interesting animals for his distant friends *immediately*.

[4] No date, but written in 1802 before March 7.

[5] These are the animal ballads which were collected and published in 1805 under the title *Ballads by William Hayley, Esq., Founded on Anecdotes Relating to Animals; with Prints Designed and Engraved by William Blake.*

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He and his excellent wife (a true helpmate!) pass the plates through a rolling press in their own cottage together; and of course it is a work of some time to collect a number of impressions." On June 16, Lady Hesketh acknowledges receipt of the ballads. "I am ill qualified," she says, "to speak of the merits either of the engravings or the ballads, but to me I confess they seem very worthy of each other"—a remark which may have satirical implications. She is, however, warmly recommending them to her friends. Hayley replies (June 28) that both he and Blake are grateful to her. "You will rejoice to hear that the good Blake and his elephants are in triumphant spirits."

After that, animal ballads seem to have reached Bath in large quantities. Lady Hesketh's letter of July 2 contains some amusing criticism of Blake. Only six persons in Bath have subscribed to the ballads. "Some, among the very few now here who have any pretentions to taste, find many defects in your friend's engravings. If Mr. B. is but new in the world, may it not be in reality kinder to point out his failings than to suffer him to think his performances faultless? Surely it may, as it may stimulate his endeavors after perfection." One gentleman who dislikes the prints is eighty-two, but he is lively for his age and has always "lived in the very best circles." She hears also that the talented Catherine Fanshawe [6] objects, "chiefly I believe to the design. The elephant not being seen in the background in the same piece where the man is struggling at the window she considered as a defect, since no one could tell how he came there. The window, too, should have appeared in sight as a motive to influence the motions of the elephant." Lady Hesketh protests that she herself likes the engravings, but with reservations. "Examine *yourself,* dear sir; is there not something strikingly disproportionate in the figure of the horse, and of some of those in that first piece? Even to me, that is not agreeable at all."

On July 10, Lady Hesketh says of the "eagle" ballads, which have just arrived:

> I dare give no opinion in regard to the engravings, as I certainly have no dependence on my own judgement in these matters . . . I have, however, one objection of my own to make—I'm afraid you will say 'tis a very

[6] See note 3.

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feminine one! But will you not at the same time join with me in opinion that your ingenious friend pays little respect to the "human face divine"; for certainly the countenances of his women and children are nothing [*sic*] less than pleasing. The *figure* of the woman hovering over her child is fine, but her *countenance* is to me rather unpleasant, and that of the child extremely so, without any of those infantine graces which few babies are without, and which are to me so delightful. In short, the faces of his babies are *not young*, and this I cannot pardon.

The defense which Hayley wrote on July 15 is a triumph of missing the point, but gives an illuminating summary of his attitude toward Blake.

Whatever the merits or the failings of my diligent and grateful artist may be, I know I shall interest your heart and soul in his favor when I tell you that he resembles our beloved bard [Cowper] in the tenderness of his heart and in the perilous powers of an imagination utterly unfit to take due care of himself. With admirable faculties, his sensibility is so dangerously acute that the common, rough treatment which true genius often receives from ordinary minds . . . might not only wound him more than it should do, but really reduce him to the incapacity of an idiot . . . From these excesses of feeling and of irregular health (forever connected with such excesses) his productions must ever perhaps be unequal; but in all he does, however wild or hasty, a penetrating eye will discover true genius, and if it were possible to keep his too apprehensive spirit for any length of time unruffled, he would produce works of the pencil almost as excellent and original as those works of the pen which flowed from the dear poet [Cowper], of whom he often reminds me by little touches of nervous infirmity, when his mind is darkened with any unpleasant apprehension.[7] He reminds me of him also by being a most fervent admirer of the Bible, and intimately acquainted with all its beauties. I wish our beloved bard had been as happy in a wife, for Heaven has bestowed on this extraordinary mortal perhaps the only female on earth who could have suited him exactly. They have now been married more than seventeen years, and are as fond of each other as if their honey moon were still shining. They live in a neat little cottage, which they both regard as the most delightful residence ever inhabited by a mortal. They have no servant. The good woman not only does all the work of the house but she even makes the greater part of her husband's dress, and assists him in his art. She draws, she engraves, and sings delightfully, and is so truly the half of her good man, that they seem animated by one soul, and that a soul of indefatigable industry and benevolence. It sometimes harries them both to labour rather too much, and I had some time ago the pain of seeing them both confined to their bed.

[7] Throughout this correspondence, Hayley never once mentions Blake as a poet.

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On July 22, Lady Hesketh somewhat drily replies that she had no idea of questioning Blake's virtues as a man: "It was only respecting the gentleman's skill as an engraver that I took the impertinent liberty of expressing my doubts." In her opinion, the human face "should always be made as handsome as possible (those of women and children particularly) unless where there is a reason for making them otherwise." She would not raise the point, she says, did she not know that Blake is to provide engravings for the *Life of Cowper*. "How much I wish you could see Catherine Fanshawe's 'Boy Linking Cherrystones'! That is indeed truly beautiful."

The debate as to the relative merits of William Blake and Catherine Fanshawe is not continued. On July 28, Hayley reports that his "interesting artist" has again been in poor health, but has recovered sufficiently to be able to work upon the "lion" ballads. This section of the correspondence closes when, on October 15, Lady Hesketh sends Hayley a five-guinea draft for Blake in payment for the ballads, "which trifling sum I flatter myself Mr. Blake will have the goodness to accept."

The process of seeing the *Life of Cowper* through the press was attended by vexatious delays, but on December 20 Hayley is able to assure Lady Hesketh that the book will soon be in her hands.[8] "My friend the anxious, enthusiastic engraver says that all the demons who tormented our dear Cowper when living are now labouring to impede the publication of his Life." Remembering Lady Hesketh's earlier criticisms, Hayley rather cautiously adds, "I know your tender humanity will spare my good zealous coadjutor the engraver, if you think he has failed in our portrait, as I am confident you must think he has succeeded delightfully in the second. His plate from Romney has not *all* the merit of his own drawing in India ink whence he formed it, but his print from Lawrence is infinitely superior to Bartolozzi's in tender fidelity to the character of the original."

Lady Hesketh is rather angry to learn that the Romney portrait is to appear despite her objections. "Blake," she replies on December 23, "cannot possibly have done it *injustice!*" When

[8] A few complimentary copies were sent out before the end of the month, but due to a difficulty in obtaining paper actual publication took place in February, 1803.

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the book reached her, however, she was delighted with it, and her pleasure extended even to the engraving from Romney. Writing on January 10, 1803, she reports the opinion of her sister Theodora, Cowper's early love: "The only thing my sister has particularized is the print from Romney, which she dislikes as much as ever, but to which I am perfectly reconciled—as a print, I mean, for my abhorrence of the miniature is in its full force, but this engraving has an effect totally different from that."[9]

After January 2, 1803, no letters by Hayley appear in the MS., but Lady Hesketh's side of the correspondence is represented up to December 18 of that year. In a letter of April 13, she laughs aside a proposal that she sit for her portrait. Hayley evidently did not give up hope, for a week later Lady Hesketh calls him a good poet, but a poor politician. "You thought I did not see through your ingenious intentions of making work for Mr. B. at the expense of your humble servant!" She is obdurate, and says:

> Indeed was I never so desirous of exhibiting my wrinkles to the public, I should be very sorry to add to the criticisms I have already heard on the subject of some certain engravings which I am sorry to say are not thought *quite* worthy of the work; and I have been told more than once . . . that Mr. Hayley should have endeavored after a pencil more nearly allied to his admirable pen; . . . but of this be assured, that if your *protégée* will accept five guineas at my hands, they shall be at his service

At this, Hayley was evidently offended, for in her next letter, begun some days before May 14, but finished on that date, Lady Hesketh, though still firm, is apologetic.

> 14th of May—Thus far had I written many days ago, trying to make my peace . . . when I was prevented from finishing it, and more disturbed and vexed than I have long been, by a visit from your astonishing *protégée*, who seems indeed but ill calculated to persuade one to that to which one had a strong disinclination beforehand!

But let us pause before we draw the interesting conclusion that Blake paid Lady Hesketh a visit in the hope of painting her portrait. On September 14, Lady Hesketh replies to a letter from

[9] The miniature is faithful to the spirit of Romney's original, and even improves upon it; the engraving which appeared in the *Life of Cowper* satisfied Lady Hesketh by removing from the original every trace of mental anguish, and indeed of character.

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Hayley which evidently contained the news that a Mr. Dadmans, the father of a large family, had committed suicide because of poverty and ill health. Nine days later, Lady Hesketh says of Dadmans, "I cannot tell you how I grieve to have once *seen* that most unfortunate husband and father, but had I been as much acquainted with him as you wished me to do by letting him take my picture I really think his tragical end would have killed me; for I cannot suppose the trifle he would have received from me could have done more than deferred a few days this dreadful catastrophe." She regrets, however, that he was too proud to disclose his real circumstances to her.

All this is rather perplexing. Lady Hesketh's letter of May 14 does not mention the name of her visitor, and we are hampered by not possessing the letters written by Hayley during this period. Possibly Dadmans was a mere hack sent to Clifton to make a sketch from which Blake was to have executed the portrait, but this seems unlikely. By April 25, 1803, Blake had definitely decided to return to London.[10] In the very month when Blake was beginning visibly to chafe under the control of his patron, would Hayley have attempted to force him upon Lady Hesketh, who had already disapproved of his work? It is much more probable that Hayley, realizing that his hold on Blake was weakening, had begun to impose his benevolence upon Dadmans, and that the overtures to Lady Hesketh were one of the early steps in this process. Perhaps Hayley, on first broaching the subject, did not mention the name of the prospective painter, and Lady Hesketh naturally supposed that he had Blake in mind. She was still under this impression when she wrote her letter of April 20. In answering this letter, Hayley may have explained that the recommended artist was not Blake, but Dadmans. Otherwise Lady Hesketh would surely, in her letter of May 14, have expressed surprise at the shift in *protégées*. Whatever the truth of this matter may be, Lady Hesketh certainly thought for a time that Hayley wished Blake to paint her portrait, and she was strongly opposed to the suggestion.

On November 27, Lady Hesketh makes her last allusion to William Blake:

[10] See the letter to Thomas Butts of that date.

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By the way, I have never taken up the subject you mentioned to me concerning Mr. Blake, and this because I had at the time great reason to fear that your kind unsuspecting friendship was drawing you into a scrape for one who did not merit that you should incur blame on his account. If I mistook the affair I am sorry for it, and ask his pardon as well as yours; but, to own the truth, he appeared to me much to blame, even upon his own representation of the matter. But if I may give credit to some reports which reached me at that time, Mr. B. was more seriously to blame than you were at all aware of, I believe—but I will only add on this subject that, if he was, I sincerely hope that you are no stranger to it!

These incoherencies doubtless refer to Blake's quarrel with the dragoon, which took place in August. Since Lady Hesketh was an almost fanatical Tory, the charge of sedition probably confirmed her suspicions that Blake was unworthy of Hayley's patronage. By the time this letter was written, however, Blake had escaped from Felpham and its sincere but uncomprehending benevolence.

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BLAKE AND KLOPSTOCK

By Frederick E. Pierce

I

Some authors reveal the influence of fellow writers upon their own verse by direct discipleship and imitation. Others react rebelliously, and, like an electric pole, develop negative electricity from the influence of the positive on them. Of the latter type was William Blake. When he was inspired by an author, he usually wrote an eloquent contradiction of his inspirer. He studied Swedenborg and found Swedenborg mistaken. He wrote an epic entitled *Milton* to show that interpretations of *Paradise Lost* needed readjustment. Instead of making his poems mosaics of pilfered phrases, as did Gray and Tom Warton, he hammered every borrowing into a rhythm and phraseology of his own. So, when we talk of influences upon his verse, we must not expect to trace them with the simple definiteness with which they can be traced in Warton. What we find is not placid copying and combining, but suggestions that are directed off on tangent lines and reactions that are often stormy.

With this caution in mind, let us ask how far Blake was influenced by Klopstock's *Messiah*. In its home land of Germany this poem was one of the best sellers of the late eighteenth century, and in other countries it was widely read in translation. The standard English rendering was that of Collyer. As this, at least the part of it containing the earlier books, had reached a second edition when Blake was twelve years old,[1] he obviously *could* have read it at any time during his literary career. How early or how thoroughly he did this, we cannot know; but there are three items of evidence which show that around the turn of the century he was not wholly oblivious of the German poet. (a) In a poem in the Rossetti manuscript[2] which both Sampson and Keynes place conjecturally in the last years of the eighteenth century, Blake begins:

[1] Blake's *Poetical Works*, ed. by J. Sampson, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1905, editorial note to "When Klopstock England defied."

[2] No. 62 in Keynes' ed.

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When Klopstock England defied,
Uprose William Blake in his pride.

He goes on in a vein of unrefined banter, not very pertinent to our subject, but indicating that the German was no stranger. (b) Keynes, in his edition of Blake's writings, Vol. II, p. 279, quotes an extract from a sale catalogue, summarizing a letter of Blake's dated July 16, 1804, and not otherwise given: "Speaks in high praise of Mrs. Klopstock's Letters."[3] This item also leads to rather indefinite conclusions, but does imply some familiarity. The letters in question would naturally give readers a favorable impression of both Klopstock and his wife; and they contain a few sentences of praise for *The Messiah*. (c) Hayley in his diary, under date of March 26 and 27, 1803, says:

Read the death of Klopstock[4] in the newspaper of the day and looked into his *Messiah*, both the original and the translation. Read Klopstock into English to Blake and translated the opening of his third canto, where he speaks of his own death.[5]

Consequently, if we find seeming traces of *The Messiah's* influence on Blake's poetry from 1803 on, even if these traces seem at times a little vague, it is right that we should be impressed by them. If we examine Blake's relationship to Milton, whom he is known to have studied thoroughly, who unquestionably inspired one of his major poems, we shall find the parallels to Milton neither closer nor more numerous than those given below from Klopstock.

There is always the question, of course, whether verbal likenesses indicate direct borrowing or some other relationship, involving a third author who inspired the two under discussion or served as a connecting link. We have done our best to solve this question. We have compared our parallels with Milton and the Bible. We had already studied for years the English poetry of the late eighteenth century, and found no trace of authors who could have

[3] This evidently alludes to the letters of Klopstock's first wife to Samuel Richardson, which were included in the correspondence of that famous novelist, published by Mrs. Barbauld in 1804. See Vol. III, pp. 139-158 of *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, London, printed for Richard Phillips, 1804.

[4] Klopstock died March 14, 1803.

[5] *William Blake*, by S. Foster Damon, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924, p. 290.

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mediated between Klopstock and Blake. It is improbable either that Blake could read German works in the original or that foreign imitations of *The Messiah* would fall in his way. If these parallels mean anything, the logical conclusion would be that they represent suggestions which Blake took, consciously or sub-consciously, from Collyer's version.

II

Parallels Between Blake's Poems and *The Messiah* [6]

A. Parallels from *The Four Zoas,* dated 1797, and, according to Keynes, written and revised 1795-1804. Almost all of these are from the last four of the nine Nights, and may have been written fairly late.

(a) From *The Four Zoas:*

One planet calls to another and one star enquires of another:
"What flames are these, coming from the South? What noise, what dreadful rout . . . ?"
And after the flames appears the Cloud of the Son of Man
Descending from Jerusalem with power and great Glory.[7]

From *The Messiah:*

When the Saviour, impatient of any farther restraint, will exclaim, I am Jesus! . . . How will then the celestial messengers proclaim from star to star the resplendent lights that have issued from the depths of wisdom! [8]

The patriarchs heard the flying storm proceeding from the heaven of heavens, and resounding from star to star, as from hill to hill. It advanced to the earth with glowing front, and the flame of the Lord approached like the suns.[9]

(b) From *The Four Zoas:*

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[6] The edition of *The Messiah* referred to is the 1808 one-volume reprint of Collyer's translation. For Blake's *Jerusalem* I have used Russell and MacLagen's edition, though with the *ands* printed in full instead of being abbreviated; the pages referred to are those of Blake's copies given in Russell. For all other poems of Blake I have used Keynes' three-volume edition from the Nonsuch Press, 1925.

[7] "Night," IX, p. 128.

[8] Book XIII, p. 360.

[9] Book XIII, p. 370.

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But still his books he [Urizen] bore in his strong hands, and his iron pen . . . The books remain'd still unconsum'd,
Still to be written and interleav'd with brass and iron and gold.[10]
The heavens bow with terror underneath their iron hands,
Singing at their dire work the words of Urizen's book of iron
While the enormous scrolls roll'd dreadful in the heavens above. . . .
And Urizen read in his book of brass in sounding tones:
"Listen, O Daughters, to my voice. Listen to the Words of Wisdom,
So shall (ye) [you] govern over all; let Moral Duty tune your tongue.
But be your hearts harder than the nether millstone."[11]
Thus in the temple of the Sun his [Urizen's] books of iron and brass
And silver and gold he consecrated, reading incessantly
To myriads of perturbed spirits; thro' the universe
They propagated the deadly words.[12]

From *The Messiah:*

Adramelech appeared; but instead of martial armour, bore a tablet of polished gold, and slowly advancing, called out . . . ["] I passing by unseen, to the far distant sanctuary of God, entered the awful place, and brought away the golden table of destiny. ["] . . . He then read the following words: ["] . . . Dread not, ye celestial spirits, to enter the abodes of terror and dismay. For out of these new worlds shall arise more glorious than those ye have left." . . . Here Adramelech ceased; but in vain did the spirits of darkness strive to alleviate their pain by giving credit to his words.[13]

Then that angel of death began those words of the curse, which proclaim through heaven the sentence of the Sovereign Judge. . . . Then he engraved the sentence on an iron tablet, and placed it near the Judge's throne.[14]

Thus prayed Nephthoa, while his angel, hovering round him, heard his petitions, and wrote them in characters of flame in his book; a book of life, in which was [*sic*] written the petitions acceptable to the infinite giver of all Grace.[15]

From *The Four Zoas:*

Urizen sitting in his web of deceitful religion.[16]
"Our God is Urizen, the King, King of the Heavenly Hosts;
We have no other God but he."[17]

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[10] "Night" VI, p. 68, vol. II of Keynes' ed.

[11] "Night," VII, p. 77, vol. II. Brief references to Urizen's books of iron and brass occur in shorter poems as early as 1794.

[12] "Night," VIII, p. 104, vol. II.

[13] Book II, pp. 36-37.

[14] Book VII, p. 209.

[15] Book XV, p. 428.

[16] "Night," VIII, p. 113.

[17] "Night," IV, p. 46.

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From *The Messiah:*

Long after, he [Adramelech] caused himself to be worshipped on earth as the supreme God, and had a temple erected in his honour, in which he himself presided, placing over the high altar the tablet of Destiny.[18]

(c) From *The Four Zoas:*

Thus sang the Lovely one in rapturous delusive trance.
Los heard, reviving; he siez'd [*sic*] her in his arms; delusive hopes
Kindling, she led him into shadows and thence fled outstretch'd
Upon the immense like a bright rainbow, weeping and smiling and fading.[19]

From *The Messiah:*

"O not yet, thou inhabitant of heaven!" said Nephthoa. "Turn not away so soon, thy radiant eyes, thy rosy blush, thy gladdening smile." But Benoni disappeared, while Nephthoa stood as entranced, with outstretched arms to embrace his celestial friend, clothed in light: but his empty arms strove to hold a fleeting shadow.[20]

(d) From *The Four Zoas:*

The myriads of the dead burst thro' the bottoms of their tombs.[21]

From *The Messiah:*

The ancestors of the divine Jesus, rejoicing in their being raised from the dead, remained near the tombs in which they had slept.[22]

(e) From *The Four Zoas:*

"Then, O thou fair one, sit thee down, for thou art as the grass,
Thou risest in the dew of morning and at night art folded up."
"Alas! am I but as a flower? then will I sit me down,
Then will I weep, then I'll complain, and sigh for immortality."[23]

From *The Messiah:*

The blessings of this life pass away like the withering flower. . . . this poor, short, and fleeting life, is like a flower, which blows to fade, and is no sooner faded than it is buried in the dust.[24]

Blake may, of course, have taken his passage direct from Psalm 103, 15-16:

[18] Book II, p. 37.
[19] "Night," II, p. 34 of Keynes' ed., vol II.
[20] Book XV, p. 430.
[21] "Night," VII, end of (b).
[22] Book XIII, opening.
[23] "Night," IX, pp. 132-133.
[24] Book XV, p. 427.

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"As for man, his days are as grass; as the flower of the field, so he flourisheth, for the wind passeth over it and it is gone; and the place thereof shall know it no more.

B. Parallel from *Milton,* dated 1804, according to Keynes, written and revised 1804-1808:

(f) From Blake's *Milton:*

The Spectre of Satan stood upon the roaring sea and beheld
Milton within his sleeping Humanity; trembling and shudd'ring
He stood upon the waves a Twenty-seven fold mighty Demon
Gorgeous and beautiful; loud roll his thunders against Milton.
Loud Satan thunder'd, loud and dark upon mild Felpham shore
Not daring to touch one fibre he howl'd round upon the Sea.
I also stood in Satan's bosom and beheld its desolations:
A ruin'd Man, a ruin'd building of God, not made with hands:
Its plains of burning sand, its mountains of marble terrible:
Its pits and declivities flowing with molten ore and fountains
Of pitch and nitre.[25]

From Klopstock:

Satan, having thus infected the mind of Iscariot with the deceitful vision, swelled, inflated with pride, like a mountain raised by a volcano, while convulsive earthquakes rock the neighboring eminences, and sink the surrounding hills. . . . Satan heard him thus speak . . . and, glorying in his success, raised his head still higher, and unseen, looked down on Judas with triumphant arrogance. Thus on the top of high Olympus, a dreadful rock impends over the swelling sea, proudly threatening destruction to the approaching mariners; but soon will the red lightning, with hideous roar and terrible confusion, strike it down, and lay it in the lowly deep.[26]

C. One passage in connection with Blake's art.

(g) With Blake's picture of the soul hovering over the body compare the following passage from *The Messiah:*

When the soul of the just departed Christian, hovering over its late body, sees the pale and ghastly visage, and all the dismal marks of the triumph of death over vanquished nature, then this blessed band, with cheerful countenance, receive him.[27]

D. Parallels from *Jerusalem,* dated 1804, written and revised, according to Keynes, 1804-1820:

[25] Book Second, p. 43 (Keynes' ed., vol. III, p. 365).
[26] Book III, pp. 78-79. [27] Book I, p. 22.

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(h) The opening lines of Blake's *Jerusalem:*

This theme calls me in sleep night after night, and ev'ry morn
Awakes me at sunrise, then I see the Saviour over me
Spreading his beams of love, and dictating the words of this mild song.
["] Awake! awake O sleeper of the land of shadows, wake! expand!
I am in you and you in me, mutual in love divine:
Fibres of love from man to man thro' Albion's pleasant land. . . .
I am not a God afar off, I am a brother and friend;
Within your bosoms I reside, and you reside in me:
Lo! we are One; forgiving all Evil; Not seeking recompense . . . ["]
Trembling I sit day and night, my friends are astonished at me,
Yet they forgive my wanderings, I rest not from my great task!
To open the Eternal Worlds, to open the immortal Eyes
Of Man inwards into the Worlds of Thought: into Eternity
Ever expanding in the bosom of God, the Human Imagination.
O Saviour, pour upon me thy Spirit of meekness and love:
Annihilate the Selfhood in me, be thou all my life!
Guide thou my hand which trembles exceedingly upon the rock of ages,
While I write of the building of Golgonooza, and of the terrors of Entuthon.

The opening lines of Klopstock's *Messiah:*

Inspired by thine immortality, rise, my soul, and sing the honours of thy great Redeemer: honours obtained in hard adversity's rough school—obtained by suffering for the sins and woes of others, himself sinless. Recount, with humble gratitude, those guiltless sufferings, the bitter consequences of love to man's degenerate race. In vain Satan raged against the Lord's Anointed; in vain Judea set herself against him; he accomplished, in his humanity, the great work of our redemption.

O work divine, compleatly known only to the omnipresent God! May the muse presume, with awful distance, to penetrate the secret veil that surrounds thee, and feeble man attempt thy praise! Can a weak mortal explain thy heights, thy depths? Assist me, O thou divine Spirit, before whom I suppliant bow! lead and inspire me, that full of rapture—full of thee, I may penetrate the depths profound of heavenly wisdom; contemplate the glorious plan of man's redemption, through the obscurity of ages past, and enlightened by thy revelations, in exalted strains, display the great Messiah's love to Adam's ruined race.

The opening lines of Book IX of *The Messiah:*

Still farther do I travel in my tremendous path, still nearer draw to the Saviour's death—to his death who breathed nought but love divine, and whose love supports my fainting powers. O let me not, presumptuous, too boldly sing the great Redeemer! nor without solemn dignity attune my song! Look down, propitious, on me, who am but dust, O thou, by whose

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omnipotence I am environed! Thou seest all the conceptions of my mind ere into thoughts they rise, nor is there a word that trembles on my tongue to thee unknown: O my Redeemer! enlighten me, and when I stumble, forgive!

(i) From *Jerusalem:*

Now, now the battle rages round they tender limbs, O Vala,
Now smile among thy bitter tears; now put on all thy beauty.
Is not the wound of the sword sweet; and the broken bone delightful?
Wilt thou now smile among the scythes when the wounded groan in the field? [28]

From *The Messiah:*

The din and tumult of the armed field sounds delightful in his ear, and without emotion he hears the groans of the dying.[29]

(j) From *Jerusalem:*

He ceas'd; the shadowy voice was silent; but the cloud hover'd over their heads
In golden wreaths, the sorrow of Man; and the balmy drops fell down.[30]

From *The Messiah:*

'Tis he [the Eternal] who . . . has crowned the summit of these mountains with golden clouds.[31]

The seraph's immortal beauty and celestial radiance returned, when rising in a cloud, skirted with gold, he thus triumphant sung.[32]

Over the sepulchre, as in the center of the circle, sat Gabriel, on a golden cloud.[33]

In *The Four Zoas,* "Night," IX, p. 132, we have:

For Luvah spoke
With voice mild from his golden cloud;

which sounds like an echo of Milton, *Paradise Lost,* VI, 27-28:

From whence a voice,
From midst a golden cloud, thus mild was heard.

(k) From *Jerusalem:*

[28] Page 65, ll. 29-32. This passage also occurs in *The Four Zoas.*
[29] Book IV, p. 104.
[30] Page 29, ll. 53-54. These lines also occur in *The Four Zoas.*
[31] Book V, p. 135.
[32] Book V, p. 153.
[33] Book XIII, p. 358.

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Then Mary burst forth into a Song: she flowed like a River of
Many Streams in the arms of Joseph, and gave forth her tears of joy
Like many waters.[34]

From *The Messiah:*

He was followed by his sister Mary, who devoutly listened to Christ, had been melted by his discourse, when chusing the better part, she sat weeping at his feet.[35]

Then Deborah and Miriam, after a long and mournfull silence, burst into plaintive songs, flowing with melting softness.[36]

Now was heard the omnipotent voice, and Rachel, sinking down, seemed to herself as if dissolving in tears of joy.[37]

[The mother of Christ says:] Celestial joys flow in upon me. I sink in a flood of light! [38]

(l) From *Jerusalem:*

The Stars flee remote: the heaven is iron, the earth is sulphur.[39]

From *The Messiah:*

Amos . . . now awaked in an immortal body to behold the salvation accomplished by the Redeemer, the heavens no longer iron.[40]

Both might be from Leviticus 26, 19: "And I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass."

(m) From *Jerusalem:*

And Reuben fled with his head downwards among the Caverns
Of the Mundane Shell, which froze on all sides round Canaan on
The vast Expanse: where the Daughters of Albion Weave the Web
Of Ages and Generations, folding and unfolding it, like a Veil of Cherubim:
And sometimes it touches the Earth's summits, and sometimes spreads
Abroad into the Indefinite Spectre.[41]

From *The Messiah:*

Now with rapid descent, he [Satan] reached the confines of the mundane system, where immense spaces opened before him; and these he termed the frontiers of more extended realms.[42]

He now stood fronting the crystaline stream of flowing light that leads to the mundane system. At first he was afraid of the brightness, and of the

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[34] Page 61, ll. 28-30.
[35] Book IV, p. 106.
[36] Book X, p. 277.
[37] Book XI, p. 302.
[38] Book XV, p. 458.
[39] Page 66, l. 81.
[40] Book XI, p. 310.
[41] Page 63, last line; Page 64, ll. 1-5.
[42] Book II, p. 34.

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winged lightning, that seemed advancing toward him. Immersed in misery, and confined to solitude, ages had passed since he had seen the worlds.[43]

(n) From *Jerusalem:*

And thus he [Los] chanted his Song: the Daughters of Albion reply.
["] What may Man be who can tell! But what may Woman be?
To have power over Man from Cradle to corruptible Grave.
He who is an Infant, and whose Cradle is a Manger,
Knoweth the Infant sorrow; whence it came, and where it goeth . . .
Entune, Daughters of Albion, your hymning chorus mildly:
Cord of affection thrilling extatic on the iron Reel:
To the golden Loom of Love! to the moth-laboured woof!
A Garment and Cradle weaving for the infantine Terror:
For fear, at entering the gate into our world of cruèl
Lamentation, it flee back and hide in Non-Entity's dark wild.
. . . O daughters of despair!
Rock the Cradle, and in mild melodies tell me where [you] found
What you have enwoven with so much tears and care! so much
Tender artifice! to laugh, to weep, to learn, to know;
Remember! recollect! what dark befel in wintry days.["]
["] O it was lost forever! and we found it not; it came
And wept at our wintry Door.["] [44]

From *The Messiah:*

While the Eternal thus spake, all nature shook: souls just emerging from non-existence, which had not yet begun to think, trembled, and first caught sensation.[45]

Round the seraph also flocked the souls of those tender infants who had just entered into life; but fled weeping with the piteous cries of childhood. Their timid eyes had viewed with astonishment the objects around them, when, not daring to stay on the great theater, yet unopened to their view, their guardian angels conduct them thence.[46]

I gently conveyed the unembodied spirit to the dwellings of mortals. At length his mother brought him forth in a grove of palms. I descended invisible from the top of the rustling branches, and cooled the infant with refreshing breezes: but even then at the gloomy sensation that he was born to die, the number of his tears exceeded that of other mortals.[47]

(o) From *Jerusalem:*

Naked Jerusalem lay before the Gates upon Mount Zion,
The Hill of Giants, all her foundations levell'd with the dust . . .

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[43] Book II, p. 51.
[44] Page 56, ll. 2-6, 11-16, 21-27.
[45] Book I, p. 8.
[46] Book I, pp. 22-23.
[47] Book III, p. 68.

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And thus her voice went forth in the darkness of Philisthea: [48]
["] . . . But now my altars run with blood,
My fires are corrupt, my incense is a cloudy pestilence
Of seven diseases! Once a continual cloud of salvation rose
From all my myriads: once the Four-fold World rejoic'd among
The pillars of Jerusalem, between my winged Cherubim.["] [49]
The envy ran thro' Cathedron's Looms into the Heart
Of mild Jerusalem, to destroy the Lamb of God. Jerusalem
Languish'd upon Mount Olivet, East of Mild Zion's Hill.[50]

From *The Messiah:*

Near Jerusalem, once the city where God displayed his grace: once the nurse of the holy prophets, though she had now thrown away the crown of high election, and was become an altar of blood, shed by murderers; the divine Messiah withdrew from the multitude. . . . On the side where the sun first gilds Jerusalem with his beams, rises a mountain, whose top the holy Mediator had often honoured with his presence, when during the solitary night, he, wakeful, spent his hours in fervent prayer. Thither he now went. . . . Around him glimmered the distant light of sacrifices, flaming to appease the Deity, on high Moria; where, ignorant of the salvation offered them by the divine Messenger of God, they shed the blood of bulls and of goats, as an atonement for the sins of the people. Vain oblations, without renovation of heart, and amendment of life! Here he rested, where the olive spreads her refreshing shade.[51]

Philo, standing with eyes lift up towards heaven, cried, Thou altar of blood, where the lamb of atonement was offered, and ye other sacred altars, once loaded with undefiled sacrifices, which sent up to God a sweet smelling savour! even thou Holy of Holies! ye cherubs! thou mercy seat, where the Eternal once sat . . . when the Nazarene shall lay ye waste, and these sons of Belial, by him protected, shall bring you to destruction, let me—let me be esteemed guiltless of your ruin. . . . If idolaters bring polluted incense to the sacred place, where hung the veil, where once the high-priest alone went with humble reverence to the mercy seat! may my afflicted eyes never behold the impious deed.[52]

Now I first feel, now I join in his lamentation over Jerusalem, the solitary widow, the queen among the nations.[53]

(p) From *Jerusalem:*

Naked Jerusalem lay before the Gates upon Mount Zion,
The Hill of Giants, all her foundations levell'd with the dust:
Her Twelve Gates thrown down: her children carried into captivity . . .

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[48] Page 78, ll. 21, 22, 30.
[49] Page 79, ll. 55-59.
[50] Page 82, ll. 52-54.
[51] Book I, pp. 2-3.
[52] Book IV, p. 94.
[53] Book XII, p. 340.

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And thus her voice went forth in the darkness of Philisthea. . . .
["] My tents are fall'n! my pillars are in ruins! my children dash'd
Upon Egypt's iron floors, and the marble pavements of Assyria! ["] [54]

From *The Messiah:*

He sees the altar for burnt offerings thrown down. He beholds the stately Jerusalem weeping! she who sat as a queen among the cities, covered with ashes—bereaved of her children—alas! they lie unburied! they lie exposed, in the eye of day, turning to putrifaction! while the young, whom torturing anguish and devouring grief have spared, are seized by the furious warrior, and their tender bones dashed against the ruins of this their native city.[55]

(q) From *Jerusalem:*

There is the Cave; the Rock; the Tree; the Lake of Udan Adan;
The Forest, and the Marsh, and the Pits of bitumen deadly;
The Rocks of solid fire; the Ice valleys; the Plains
Of burning sand; the rivers, cataract and Lakes of Fire;
The Islands of the fiery Lakes.[56]
Each Man is in his Spectre's power
Until the arrival of that hour
When his Humanity awake
And cast his Spectre into the Lake.[57]

Also cf. *Milton,* 44, 10-12, p. 367:

Awake, Albion, awake! reclaim they Reasoning Spectre! Subdue
Him to the Divine Mercy! Cast him down into the Lake
Of Zos that ever burneth with fire, ever & ever, Amen!

From *The Messiah:*

Deep in the lowest hell rises a luminous mass, in the midst of the flaming sea, which runs into the lake of death. This mass enormous, the circling thunders, in whirling eddies, tore from its base, when rising high it struck the proud Adramelech, fraught with lies, and cast him with his impious tablet into the deadly lake.[58]

After him appeared Belial, who in mournful silence came from the dreary forests and desert wastes, where the black streams of death, issuing from a source involved in clouds, flow dark and languid to the foot of Satan's

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[54] Page 78, ll. 21-23, 30; Page 79, ll. 1 and 2.
[55] Book VII, p. 207.
[56] Page 13, ll. 38-42.
[57] Engraved, p. 41. Quoted on p. 121 of Russell and MacLagen's ed.
[58] Book II, p. 37.

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throne. . . . Thou Magog, who dwellest in the lake—thou also amidst thy waters sawest the return of Satan.[59]

The executioner of the divine vengeance, with the infernal Judas, stood at this gaping grave: the grave where Death never dies—never sleeps. The seraph then turning aside, pointed his flaming sword down into the deep abyss, and cried, This is the abode of the damned, and this, O wretch! is thine abode! . . . Thus he spake, and hurled the struggling spectre into the abyss.[60]

Thus silent prayed the great, the dying Messiah. Then turning his benevolent eyes from the sepulchre, he looked with stern brow on the Dead Sea, where lay Satan and Adramelech. His eyes now darted convulsive terrors and deep dismay into the depths of that tempestuous lake, and both the apostate spirits sunk in the lowest misery.[61]

(r) From *Jerusalem:*

And thus Los replies upon his Watch. . . . The Alps and Appenines
Listen: Hermon and Lebanon bow their crowned heads.[62]

From *The Messiah:*

The earth shook: mount Seir, Pisgah, Arnon, and Hermon trembled; the tops of Carmel and Lebanon were afraid.[63]

(s) From *Jerusalem:*

Her voice pierc'd Albion's clay cold ear, he moved upon the rock. . . .
The Breath Divine went over the morning hills, Albion rose
In anger: the wrath of God breaking bright, flaming on all sides around
His awful limbs; into the Heavens *he* walked, clothed in flames
Loud thund'ring.[64]

From *The Messiah:*

As when the whole expanse of the heavens is shrouded in clouds, and the intent eye of increasing expectation is fixed upward when the flame of the Lord darts at once from the heavens, and storms of thunder proclaim the glory of the Almighty, thus Isaiah threw aside the night of death, shone radiant over his grave, and poured forth his thanks to his all-gracious Creator, who had raised him from the dust.[65]

Some of these parallels are obviously more impressive than others. But the results found are just such as we should expect if Blake *had* read Klopstock. His pictorial imagination would have created

[59] Book II, pp. 38-39.
[60] Book IX, last page.
[61] Book X, p. 265.
[62] Page 85, ll. 14-17.
[63] Book XIII, p. 370.
[64] Page 95, II, 1, 5-8.
[65] Book XI, p. 309.

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pictures that were suggested rather than copied. The iconoclastic thinker in him would have cried: "Your poetical conceptions are wrong, but they inspire me with great ideas." And we *know* that Blake was not wholly unfamiliar with Klopstock.

Passage (c), for example, is somewhat inadequate as evidence of borrowing. But if Blake had read the lines from Collyer's translation, they might easily have suggested to his pictorial imagination such an improved poetic picture as he gave. Passages (o) and (p) might represent a similar suggestion of mental pictures, and are more convincing as evidence of actual debt.

III

There are some general considerations to bear in mind. Let any one make a chronological study of Blake's preserved writings, as they are given in Mr. Keynes' edition, and he will be surprised to find in the earlier productions how few references there are to the Saviour under any of his titles.[66] This holds true in both verse and scraps of prose until at least 1797, perhaps later. With the nineteenth century comes a change, not startling, but worth noting. The Redeemer, under one or another of his titles, appears fairly frequently, even in miscellaneous fragments of verse and prose[67] and in pictures.[68] But his role as a literary creation is found especially in three lengthy poems, *The Four Zoas, Jerusalem,* and *The Everlasting Mercy.* In *The Four Zoas,* "Jesus" looms up intermittently as a noble but somewhat incidental figure. In *The Everlasting Mercy* He becomes the sole subject of the poem, but the ideas about him seem developed from a germ found much earlier in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell.*[69]

[66] The well-known lines in "The Songs of Innocence":

> He was called by thy name,
> For he calls himself a Lamb,

are a marked exception. There are brief discussions about Christ and The Messiah (not always identified) in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (Keynes' ed., vol. I, pp. 183, 190, 194).

[67] See Keynes' ed., vol. II, pp. 177, 179, 201, 243, 248, 258, 296; vol. III, pp. 81, 83, 85, 130, 147, 349, 355, 358, 359, 384, 386.

[68] See Keynes, vol. II, p. 298 and plate xxx; vol. III, plates xlvii, xlix, lvi.

[69] In the last section.

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In *Jerusalem* he is one of the chief characters, and, though more manly and intellectual than the "amiable Saviour" of Klopstock, is exceedingly lovable and human.[70] While the change is one of increased emphasis rather than of revolutionary transformation, it is marked enough to make us inquire for its cause. That cause, of course, may have been a deep personal experience, of which no record has come down to us. It may have been Blake's eager perusal of the Bible; but we question whether a book which he had known from childhood would first affect him when he was over forty—unless its stimulus was aided from without. If there was an external inspiration, it could hardly have come from Milton, for Blake, like many other people, admired the devils of the Puritan poet much more than his Trinity.[71] A reading, or rereading of Klopstock's *Messiah* might easily have been—if not the sole cause—at least one of several causes turning his mind in this direction. To be sure, the German epic is heavily burdened with sentimentalism and conventional religion, to both of which Blake was strenuously hostile. But that would simply have made him feel that Klopstock had handled a great subject badly and that he had a rare opportunity to handle it properly.

Finally, in literary matters we must always trust somewhat to general impressions. They integrate into one whole a thousand microscopic details which scientific method would overlook. There are wide tracts in Klopstock that are utterly unlike Blake and wide tracts in Blake that are utterly unlike Klopstock. Their attitudes and styles were fundamentally different. Both poets were deeply influenced by Milton and the Bible, and general likenesses of atmosphere, when they do occur, might owe something to a common source. Yet I cannot read *Jerusalem* and *The Messiah* without a haunting sense that there is something common between

[70] Some of the main ideas in *Jerusalem* can be found in the germ as early as *The Poetical Sketches* (before 1783). See the concluding stanzas of "King Edward the Third" and the Prologue of "King John." But in these boyish studies there is no hint of any Messiah. That conception was added after 1804.

[71] "In Milton, the Father is Destiny, the Son a Ratio of the five senses, and the Holy-ghost Vacuum." *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Keynes' ed., vol. I, p. 183.

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them.[72] It was that feeling which first caused me to make the present study, and that feeling still persists. If Klopstock at intervals suggests Blake to me, he might have suggested to Blake himself just such passages as the latter wrote. And we know that Blake was not wholly unfamiliar with his work. Each wrote his epic on the redemption of humanity by *a* Saviour, interpreting the conception from his own point of view, and telling the story in his own way.

If Blake did owe a debt to Collyer's translation of *The Messiah*, it was one of reaction and suggestion, not of discipleship. Whether or not the existence of such a debt has been absolutely proved, it is at least extremely probable.

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[72] A comparison of Book XIII in *The Messiah* with the closing pages of *Jerusalem* will show what I mean. In each a leading character (Albion and Christ) is seen lying dead, is seen to revive, and make a triumphal progress through the heavens. There is not much close parallelism in phrasing, but to me there is considerable likeness in atmosphere.

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THE 1762 EFFLORESCENCE OF POETICS

By Eric Partridge

The middle third of the eighteenth century produced a large number of English works on the theory of literature, especially in the branches of criticism and poetics, and 1762 is remarkable as witnessing the publication of four books dealing with that latter section. The early seventeen-sixties, moreover, saw the issue of these further works: *The Elements of Criticism* by Kames in 1761, Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry* in the following year, John Brown's *Dissertation on Poetry and Music* in 1763, and, two years later, the *Hermes* of James Harris.

The four publications with which we are concerned, and of course those which we have just mentioned, appeared in an atmosphere that has been described for us by two writers in 1762. A capable contributor to the valuable *Critical Review* observed in the May number:

> In this age of criticism, when every coffee house is filled with precipitate censure, or blind adulation, it were to be wished that our gentlemen would at least endeavour to learn the elements of that science.

And with regard to the moral and instructive bent of the eighteenth century, John Newbery or another wrote:

> Could truth engage the affections of mankind in her native and simple dress, she would require no ornament, or aid, from the imagination; but her delicate light, tho' lovely in itself, and dear to the most discerning, does not strike the senses of the multitude so as to secure their esteem and attention: the poets therefore dressed her up in the manner in which they thought she would appear the most amiable, and called in allegories and airy disguises as her auxiliaries in the cause of virtue.

Criticism and morality alike were well served when in 1762 the study of poetics received close and various attention in John Foster's *Essay on the Nature of Accent and Quantity,* Newbery's *Art of Poetry on a New Plan,* James Ogden's verse *Epistle on Poetical Composition,* and *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry* by Daniel Webb.

John Foster had been a fellow of King's College, Cambridge,

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and his very learned work was not among those which fell by the roadside. An anonymous reviewer says:

> We make no doubt, but that this controversy about the use of accentuation . . . will be regarded by the generality of readers, as the frivolous cavilling of idle pedants, and a dispute, *de lana caprina*, as Horace expresses it; although we cannot help viewing it in a light quite different. Disquisitions of this kind serve not only to revive the expiring taste for ancient literature, and sharpen the wit by fair trials of skill in erudition and argument, but they elucidate many obscure passages in the best classics, illustrate our native language, explain the principles of poetic harmony, unfold the seeds of taste, and equally promote verbal and sentimental criticism.

That last phrase comes from Daniel Webb, whose book was reviewed, probably by the same critic, a month earlier. The full title of Foster's treatise runs thus: *An Essay on the Different Nature of Accent and Quantity with their Use and Application in the Pronunciation of the English, Latin, and Greek Languages: Containing an Account and Explanation of the Ancient Tones, and a Defence of the Present System of Greek Accentual Marks.* The first edition is extremely rare; the second [1] (1763), corrected and much enlarged, contained "some additions from the Papers of Dr. Taylor and Mr. Markland" and a "Reply to Dr. G's Second Dissertation in Answer to the Essay." The doctrine of the book resides in the following passage:

> Notwithstanding the confidence with which it is often affirmed, that English metre depends on accent and not on quantity, which I have endeavoured to refute; and though I have allowed that accent jointly with quantity doth direct it; yet I cannot help thinking, that the essence of it is founded in *Quantity alone.*

Foster thus ranks as one of those who have engaged in a discussion including among its earliest participants such a tolerant scholar as Ascham and such a pedant as Harvey (deserted by Spenser and confuted by Daniel), and among its latest, Sir Robert Bridges. His defence of a lost cause is very technical, but it possesses a marked skill in dialectics.

The *Art of Poetry,* published by John Newbery in two volumes, has sometimes been attributed to Goldsmith, whom it would certainly not dishonour. Yet it looks like Newbery's own: for one

[1] Third edition, London, 1820.

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thing, it is dedicated to Robert Earl of Holdernesse (whose arms the British Museum copy bears inside the cover) by Newbery; for another, the Advertisement, written by the same, would seem to point to Newbery and not to Goldsmith as the author.

Mr. Newbery begs leave to recommend these and the subsequent Volumes to the young Gentlemen and Ladies who have read his little books. In those he attempted to lead the young Pupil to a Love of Knowledge, in these he has endeavoured to introduce him to the Arts and Sciences, where all useful Knowledge is contained. This may be said, he apprehends, without depreciating the Classics, which are ever to be held in Esteem, but are to be esteemed chiefly for being the Keys of Literature, and for disclosing to us the Taste and Wisdom of the Ancients. The Reader will perceive that a very free Use has been made of many Authors, and the Nature of the Subject required it; for it is in Criticism, as in Life, one good Example is worth many Precepts. The Example here collected from various Books will give no Offence, it is hoped, either to the Authors or Proprietors; for, whatever may be the Fate of these Volumes, they can neither depreciate the Merit of those Books, nor anticipate their Sale; but will, we apprehend, have a Contrary Effect. In some Parts of the Work, and especially towards the latter End, Sentiments and Reflections will be found which may appear, perhaps, singular; but, it is presumed, they will not on that account be thought impertinent. They are generally concerning Things with which Learning has little to do, but where Nature herself is to be consulted, and here no Preeminence is to be claimed in Consequence of a superior Education; since every Man can best feel how he is affected. Whatever Value these Reflections and Observations may have, the Examples introduced will always have their Merit, and will, we hope, lead the young Student to a careful Perusal of the Volumes from whence they are extracted.

Those remarks come far more naturally from a publisher-writer [2] (and we know Newbery to have been that) thoughtful of other publishers and their clients, than from an author.

The full title of this work, which was not reprinted, is given thus: *The Art of Poetry on a New Plan: Illustrated with a great Variety of Examples from the best English poets; and of Translations from the Ancients: Together with such Reflections and critical Remarks as may tend to form in our Youth an elegant Taste, and render the Study of this Part of the Belles Lettres more rational and pleasing.* It received succint notice in *The Critical*

[2] The author may have been Francis Newbery, the publisher's son, who was a scholar and a poet. For information about the younger Newbery, see John Taylor: *Records of My Life*, 2 vol., 1832, at II, 203-4.

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Review of May 1762, and the method of this *Art* attracted the following description:

> The method which the editor of this performance has pursued, of mixing precept with example, seemed to have been before wanting in English criticism. In all former systems of this nature, the compilers have either merely selected the beauties of our poets, without directing our judgment or taste to an approbation of their choice; or have strung up a number of dry rules, with short and inadequate examples, which past coolly through the understanding, without alluring the imagination, or warming the heart. The system before us directs the youthful student by precepts equally just and unaffected, and artfully relieves the attention with an alternation of well chosen examples, at that precise point we begin to wish for a change.

The critic shrewdly notes a certain characteristic of Newbery's work when he writes:

> The author seems pleased rather with describing the effect of poetical combinations, than with attempting to analyse them: he treats the art more like a poet than a philosopher; and this is certainly the surest and speediest way of forming our taste, tho' it may fail in satisfying curiosity.

The reviewer, however, sees that, while following the precepts of the best poetical legislators, Newbery strikes out on his own when he dissents from their findings, and in conclusion he says of the style that it is "elegant, concise and correct, at once explaining, in the clearest manner, the beauties he would enforce, and exhibiting an example of the perspicuity he would approve."

The *Critical* reviewer says many good things, but we would do well to turn to the work itself, which we see has the following chief headings: Introduction; Definition of Poetry; Structure of English Verse, and Rhyme; the several Sorts of English Verses; Elisions; Beauty of Thought; Style; Precepts for Epigram; Epitaph; Elegy; Pastoral; Epistle; Descriptive Poetry; Didatic Poetry; Tales in Verse; Fables; Allegorical Poetry; Lyric Poetry; Satire; Dramatic Poetry; Epic or Herioc Poems; Shakespeare. Excessive space is given to "The Epic or Heroic Poem"; almost one third of the whole book. Homer and Virgil receive detailed treatment, Milton and Tasso have considerable attention bestowed upon them, and, rather surprisingly, we meet with a discussion of Fénelon's *Télémaque.* Only a quarter of this *Art of Poetry on a New Plan* consists of text, whole poems, even if lengthy, being given; it is,

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however, the text which, in most instances, determines the quotations and not, as so often happens in criticism of this kind, the other way about; occasionally the critic examines a poem in detail, if he thinks it especially suited to the illustration of his theme, and one of the pieces so honored is Armstrong's *Art of Health.* The verse of Pope was beginning to pall if we may judge from the following partly fresh conception of poetry.

Poetry is the art of composing poems . . . in order to please and to instruct. But a skill in making verses . . . is one of the least qualifications of a good poet; for a person of an indifferent genius may be taught to compose verses that will flow smoothly, and sound well to the ear, which yet may be of no value for want of strong sense, propriety and elevation of thought, or purity of diction. A true poet is distinguished by a fruitfulness of invention, a lively imagination tempered by a solid judgment, a nobleness of sentiments and ideas, and a bold, lofty, and figurative manner of expression. He thoroughly understands the nature of his subject; and . . . he forms a design or plan, by which every verse is directed to a certain end, and each has a just dependence on the other; for it is this produces the beauty of order and harmony, and gives satisfaction to the rational mind. . . . A poetical genius is the *gift of nature,* and cannot be acquired; nor can the want of it be supplied by art or industry; but where such a genius is found, it may be assisted by proper rules and directions.

That curious mixture of the old and the new conceptions of poetry recur in two statements that have considerable interest, for students of the genesis of literary theory. "Thoughts in poetry," says Newbery, ". . . may be just without being philosophically true; for it is the poet's business to represent things not *as they are,* but as they *seem to be*"; the other is not only penetrating but extremely effective.

The thoughts we find in the best authors are natural and intelligible; they are neither affected to display wit, nor far-fetched to discover learning; but are such as arise, as it were spontaneously, out of the subject treated of, and seem so inseparable from it, that we cannot conceive how it could have been otherwise expressed with so much propriety.

Even in the matter of style in poetry, Newbery appears in accord with the new movement for freedom and picturesqueness:

As the poet's design is principally to please, to move the passions, and to inspire the soul with noble and sublime sentiments, he is allowed great latitude of language, and may use such bold expressions and uncommon

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modes of speech, such frequent repetitions, free epithets, and extensive and adorned descriptions, as are not to be admitted in prose.

The chapter on Epitaphs serves to remind us how much this *genre* has fallen into neglect, while that "Of the Pastoral" shows how widely this form was practised. The critic evidently did not share the view that satire brings out the worst in man, for in this section on that *genre* he writes:

A good satyrist ought to be a man of wit and address, sagacity and eloquence. He should also have a great deal of good-nature. . . . It is good-nature produces that disdain of all baseness, vice and folly, which prompts the poet to express himself with such smartness against the errors of men, but without bitterness to their persons. . . . In writing satire care should be taken that it is true and general, that is, levelled at abuses in which numbers are concerned; for the personal kind of satire, or lampoon, which exposes particular characters, and affects the reputation of those at whom it is pointed, is scarce to be distinguished from slander and defamation.

We find (at II., 149-150) a particularly interesting allusion to the discussion of the stage so rife in the eighteenth century.

If we except Religion and Politics, there is no subject, perhaps, that has occasioned so much debate as the Drama, or that has been debated with so much virulence and acrimony: and these disputes have caused various vicissitudes in the stage; which seem to have been favoured or discouraged, raised or depressed, in proportion as liberty and good sense, or slavery and superstition gained the ascendant. . . . As the Church is the School for Religion and Piety, so would the Theatre, under due encouragement and proper inspection, become a School for Morality and Virtue. Here we should learn, and learn in the most lively and affecting manner, the tendency and force of our affections and passions, and the great use of reason. . . . But the benefit of instructing by example (which is the business of the stage) seems to have been little attended to in any respect.

Noteworthy is the following praise of Shakespeare, who was rapidly gaining ground in England:

. . . That miracle of genius, Shakespeare, whose volumes are a repository of true wit, and of the sublimest beauties in composition; and whose numbers are, even at this time, harmonious as those of any other poet. . . . That Shakespeare has succeeded so well in such a number and variety of characters, and obtained such power over the mind, is not altogether owing to the force of his wit and fancy; but in some measure to his perfect knowledge of human nature, or to his having in a greater proportion than other men, that power of feeling or sensibility, resulting from nature and accurate observation, which we call *good taste*.

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This *Art of Poetry,* in short, displays marked common-sense, tolerance and urbanity, and, while handling technical questions with skill, it shows a lively sense of the spirit of poetry.

James Ogden was probably a native of Manchester, which, described by him in 1783, saw the appearance of several of his poems, as for example "Revolution." He is perhaps best known for "The British Lion Rous'd, or Acts of the British Worthies," a poem in nine books, but he wrote also "The Crucifixion and Resurrection" and "An Epistle on Poetical Composition." This last concerns us; but, as it has disappeared, we must content ourselves with citing what may constitute the longest notice extant.

> This rouzer of the British lion is at least as much of a patriot as of a poet. He is also commendable for his modesty and gratitude, giving us to understand, in the advertisement prefixed, that he is destitute of a liberal education; but this has been amply made up by the favours of his friends, and the countenance of persons of tastes, to many of whom he is yet unknown. We see, as Falstaff says, how merit is sought after.—With respect to this epistle or poetical composition, we shall say nothing, having the author's maxim in our eye:
>
> Fly scandal as the plague; a gossip muse
> Is worse than any savage bear let loose.

Daniel Webb (? 1719-1798), born in County Limerick, passed several years at Oxford and, possessed of a private income, he thereafter lived mostly at Bath. His chief works are an *Enquiry into the Beauties of Painting* (1760), which a contemporary critic described as a production of "fine imagination and correct judgment"; *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry* (1762); *Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music* (1769); and *Literary Amusements in Verse and Prose* (1787).

The *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry* reached a second edition in 1764. Short (a matter of about one hundred and twenty small pages), it is couched in the form of a dialogue between "Aspasia," "Hortensius" and "Eugenio" and bears as the epigraph on the title-page a couplet from the *Essay on Criticism:*

> Then Criticism the Muse's handmaid prov'd,
> To dress her charms, and make her more belov'd,

The book was noticed at some length in *The Critical Review* of May 1762: the anonymous writer found scarcely a defect; he

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quoted Webb not only amply but as usual with entire approbation, called him "an excellent critic," and concluded thus:

There are many other sensible and judicious remarks, of equal truth and beauty, interspersed through Mr. Webb's elegant performance, which, in our opinion, has a great deal of merit, without any fault but that of a fine day in autumn, of being too short.

But we cannot pass over certain passages in the work itself, which contain many suggestive passages. "The sole aim of versification," declares Webb, "is harmony." To understand this properly, we must divide it into two kinds. The first consists in a general flow of verse, most pleasing to the ear, but independent of the sense: the second, in bringing the sound or measure of the verse to correspond with, and accompany the idea. The former may be called a verbal harmony: the latter a sentimental. The sentimental harmony is illustrated from "the most extraordinary genius that our country, or, perhaps, any other has produced," Shakespeare, of whom Webb further says: "The voice of a Garrick cannot lend beauties to Shakespeare; it is no small praise that he can do him justice."

This urbane critic throws scorn on onomatopœic verse, attacks the monotony of riming couplets, and extols the variety and power of blank verse, which he prefers, indeed, to all rimed verse; he gives examples from Pope and Milton. On a certain class of love-poetry, he says: "Jingling is so pretty a substitute of sentiment, it is so wedded to gallantry, that it were a cruelty to divorce them." In a far other sphere, Webb ascribes an excellent reason for the principal beauties of *Paradise Lost* residing in the person of Satan. "To describe a permanent and unchangeable glory," he remarks, "is to paint without shades . . . The divine Perfection, pure and Angelic natures, can have no clouds, no contrasts; they are all one blaze. But it is not so in the description of fallen Greatness; of diminished and interrupted splendour; of a superior nature sunk and disgraced, but emerging at intervals from its degradation." In general criticism, too, he is penetrating, as when he notes that "we most readily observe any artifice in the management of the sounds, when we are not much affected by the ideas," or states that "a fine imagination, like the presence of Eve, gives a second vegetation to the beauties of nature." Like Newbery, he has a

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lofty conception of poetry, which he considers in a light more Romantic: "Poetry is to the soul, what the sun is to nature; it calls forth, it cherishes, it adorns her beauties;" and the criticism, "The Muses, according to Johnson, have their anvil, and a verse may be laboured with precision and harmony: but the sallies of the imagination are prompt and decisive; they spring at once into being, and are beauties at their first conception." Even in literary theory, the field was being rapidly weeded of cramping restrictions and tilled against a harvest of spontaneous works. The final sentence of *The Beauties of Poetry* reads: "It is in Poetry, as in Philosophy, new relations are struck, new influences discovered, and every superior genius moves in a world of his own." The dialogue-form serves to give everyday interest to the discussion, which is carried on most amicably. Occasionally Webb seems rather dilettante; but generally he is sound and helpful, and often he makes shrewd remarks; now and again he is profound; on the average, he displays a notably fine critical acumen.

The four works with which we have dealt certainly possess variety, the three that we have been able to judge at first hand are competent and, in the history of literary theory, very significant; the descending order of importance is Newbery, Webb, Foster, Ogden, with the second running the first very close, while their accumulative importance makes of 1762 an *annus mirabilis artis poeticae*.

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THOMAS WARTON AND THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DILEMMA

By Raymond D. Havens

Thomas Warton is usually thought of as one who lifted high the banner of literary revolt "with gems and golden lustre rich imblazed." We picture him, both in critical theory and in poetic practice, a conscious rebel against the school of Pope. Such a misconception is natural enough, since we usually read both his prose and his poetry in anthologies that aim to give not his most typical, but his most significant writings, and his significance is thought to lie in revolt. Even if we turn to his complete works, we commonly read them with an eye for indications of romanticism; and, in any case, it is heterodoxy rather than conformity that makes the strongest first impression. As a result, we pass over the hundreds of satirical heroic couplets, the translations from Horace, the paraphrase of a chapter of Job, as well as the dozen humorous pieces and fasten upon "The Pleasures of Melancholy," "The Grave of King Arthur," and "The Crusade." In emphasizing these last two we do right, for they represent the real man, but "The Pleasures of Melancholy" does not. Though supposed to be typical of the Wartons and of their period, it is really typical of adolescence and tells us little about its sixteen-year-old author except that he was young, poetic, and a lover of Spenser and Milton. To be sure, it says a good deal about midnight, tombs, Gothic vaults, and solitude; but it is no more gloomy than is a ghost story. Its title describes it accurately, "The Pleasures of Melancholy." "Is there," the young bard asks, "a pleasure like the pensive mood,"

> To bend
> Th' uncertain step along the midnight mead,
> And pour your sorrows to the pitying moon?[1]

Far from being plunged in despair, he is having an excellent time and is very well satisfied with himself:

> Few know that elegance of soul refin'd,
> Whose soft sensation feels a quicker joy

[1] *Pleasures of Melancholy*, 168, 171-3.

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> From Melancholy's scenes, than the dull pride
> Of tasteless splendor and magnificence
> Can e'er afford.[2]

And a hundred lines later he repeats, "These are delights . . . which alone the pensive soul can taste."[3] He piles up macabre and gloomy details, not because he really enjoys tombs and fogs, nor because he is discouraged and wishes his surroundings to accord with his mood; quite the contrary, out of the fullness of youth he seeks the thrill of a complete antithesis to the comfort, health, and high spirits that he enjoys. Partly it is bravado and partly roughing it from an easy chair. We do not judge Goethe by *Werther*, yet *Werther* describes a real phase of Goethe's development, whereas there is no reason to believe that Warton ever

> Genuine transport found, as on some tomb
> Reclin'd . . . [he] watch'd the tapers of the dead.[4]

Nor did he actually prefer a rainy, foggy, scowling morning to all the sweetness of a May dawn;[5] but in his ignorance of the emotions he attempted to describe he fell into exaggeration. Such pseudo-romanticism might well be significant if it were the affectation of one who had reached "years of discretion," but in the work of a boy not yet seventeen it has the same meaning as down on the lip and unpredictable breakings in the voice. At this particular time, indeed, it meant even less, for grave-yard poetry was just coming into vogue. Dyer's "Ruins of Rome" appeared in 1740, Young's *Night Thoughts* at intervals between 1742 and 1745 (the year in which "The Pleasures of Melancholy" was written), Blair's "Grave" in 1743, Hervey's *Meditations among the Tombs* in 1745-46, and in 1742 Gray began his "Elegy." The first three of these works, which (like his own effusion) were in blank verse, almost certainly influenced Warton, who also very naturally adopted the gloomy themes, congenial to an adolescent boy, that such productions were bringing into fashion.

Yet it is not because of his poetry alone that Thomas Warton has been pictured as one of the powers that led the enbattled seraphim to war against the neo-classic despotism. For in his *Observa-*

[2] *Ibid.*, 92-6.
[3] *Ibid.*, 194-5.
[4] *Ibid.*, 98-99.
[5] *Ibid.*, 130-52.

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tions on the Fairy Queen (1754) he is said to have "produced a revolution in criticism." [6] No doubt there is the possibility of a revolution in his remark, "It is absurd to think of judging either Ariosto or Spenser by precepts which they did not attend to," but unfortunately this utterance is not original and by no means represents his critical position. I have said "position," but the plural should be used, since in the very section which contains this comment he twice shifts his ground and employs no fewer than three conflicting critical standards. If the shifting were deliberately done in order to present contrasting points of view, it would indicate unusual keenness of discrimination and catholicity of taste; but it is unconscious and is due to the confusion in his mind, a confusion shared by many of his contemporaries.

Warton begins his book by presenting, in no uncertain terms, the neo-classic position: "When," he tells us, ". . . antient poetry and antient criticism . . . at last emerged from the depths of Gothic ignorance and barbarity; it might have been expected . . . that unnatural events, the machinations of imaginary beings, and adventures entertaining only as they were improbable, would have given place to justness of thought and design, and to that decorum which nature dictated, and which the example and the precept of antiquity had authorized." But unfortunately "we find Ariosto . . . rejecting truth for magic, and preferring the ridiculous and incoherent excursions of Boyardo, to the propriety and uniformity of the Grecian and Roman models." So, too, Spenser, who "copied the cast and construction of the antient Epic" and held to the "unity of the hero and of his design," was misled by Ariosto to disregard "that unity of action, by the means of which such a design should be properly accomplished." [7]

In consequence, though "not so confused and irregular as the Orlando Furioso"—in which "the reader's imagination is distracted, and his attention harrassed, amidst the multiplicity of tales,"—yet the *Faerie Queene* is in its plan and conduct "highly

[6] Clarissa Rinaker, "Thomas Warton," *University of Illinois Studies*, 1916, p. 43.

[7] *Observations*, I, 1-2, 6. All references are to the second edition, of 1762, which differs considerably from the first. Except where otherwise noted, all passages here quoted appear in the first edition and in substantially the same words.

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exceptionable." [8] These defects should have been remedied by making Arthur the "leading adventurer" throughout, or, possibly, by converting each book into a "detached poem . . . without any reference to the rest." [9] Warton alignes himself squarely with the "regulars" by affirming: "Every classical, every reasonable critic must acknowledge, that the poet's [Ariosto's] conception in celebrating the MADNESS . . . of a hero, implies extravagance and absurdity," and by gravely reminding us that Orlando, on his first appearance, "is placed in a situation not perfectly heroic. He is discovered to us in bed." [10]

By beginning his *Observations* with the consideration "Of the plan and conduct of the *Fairy Queen*" Warton seems to lay great stress upon the architectonic element, and by finding the poem seriously deficient in this particular he seems to be condemning it as a whole. In so doing he was merely accepting the neo-classic assumptions and canons and repeating what Dryden, Hughes, and others had said before him.[11] But he was not satisfied; he felt

[8] *Ibid.*, 12, 14.

[9] *Ibid.*, 6, 10. Warton failed to see that, although a certain formal unity (about which neo-classic criticism was extremely solicitous) would have been secured by making Arthur the leading character in all the books, this change would not have affected the multiplicity of episodes, the lack of real plot and of progress towards a goal which were presumably the fundamental causes of his dissatisfaction.

[10] *Ibid.*, 12-13. Warton's limitations—his worship (in theory) of regularity and his willingness to accept the narrow standards of his day—are distressingly apparent in his treatment of versification. The Spenserian stanza, one of the chief glories of English prosody, he thinks "injudiciously chosen," not adapted to "the genius of the english language," the source of a "constraint" which "led our author into many absurdities" (*Ibid.*, 113-15). Inversion of accent (trochaic substitutions) are disapproved of—except, apparently, at the beginning of a line—and it is "laid down as a general rule, that an alexandrine cannot be harmonious without a full pause after the third foot. . . . Consequently the sixth syllable must necessarily be a monosyllable, or the last syllable of a word." (*Ibid.*, II, 154). Was even Bysshe more narrow and rigid? But Bysshe was not a poet; he did not write alexandrines and use a variety of stanzas and other free measures, as the future laureate did. It may be that Warton derived more pleasure from Spenser's stanza than he realized and that he condemned it mainly because all his predecessors had done so.

[11] See H. E. Cory, "The Critics of Edmund Spenser" (*University of California Publications*, 1911), 114-15, 146-7, 165.

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that something was wrong, though he did not know just what, and, accordingly, in the last two paragraphs of this first chapter, he attempts a defence of his beloved poem: "But it is absurd," he tells us, "to think of judging either Ariosto or Spenser by precepts which they did not attend to. We who live in the days of writing by rule, are apt to try every composition by *those* laws which we have been taught to think the *sole* criterion of excellence. Critical taste is universally diffused, and we require the *same* order and design which every modern performance is expected to have, in poems where they never were regarded or intended." [12] It is here implied that a great poem must have order and design, must be tried by some laws, but that the neo-classic rules are not "the sole criterion of excellence." We are led to infer that a study of poetry which was free from preconceptions and not limited to the ancient classics and to the French and English works patterned after them would give us other laws, other concepts of order and design, and that with these the *Faerie Queene* might be found to accord.

This is a most illuminating suggestion and might, had it been followed up, have led to great things. But it is merely an afterthought which was added in the second edition. Warton does nothing more with it and that, as is clear from his immediately

[12] *Observations*, I, 15; the italics are mine. This passage was not in the first edition. He had implied something like this a little earlier when he qualified his assertion that Spenser "does not . . . seem convinced of the necessity of that unity of action" by adidng, "At least, he has not followed the method practiced by Homer and Virgil, in conducting their respective heroes to the proposed end" (*Ibid.*, I, 6), which suggests that the *Faerie Queene* may observe this unity though not in the classic way. Note also that Spenser is not explicitly accused of disregarding the unity; it is only said that he "does not . . . seem convinced of the necessity" of it. Another instance of Warton's cautious statement of the neo-classic position without committing himself to it is his remark, two pages earlier, "It may be urged, that Spenser made an unfortunate choice, and discovered but little judgment, in adopting Ariosto for his example, rather than Tasso. . . . But our author naturally followed the poem which was most celebrated." This seems to be a condemnation of Ariosto as a model, but Warton says only that Spenser's choice, which has been thought unfortunate, was due to Ariosto's popularity. It is not unlikely either that he had arrived at no clear opinion about the matter or that he personally favored Ariosto. The clauses "At least . . . end," "that Spenser . . . judgment" replace much more severe expressions in the first edition.

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passing to another idea (which he treats as the same), because he has never thought it through but has merely appropriated it from John Hughes. In the preface to his edition of Spenser (1715), Hughes had said of the *Faerie Queene:* "The whole Frame of it wou'd appear monstrous, if it were to be examin'd by the Rules of Epick Poetry, as they have been drawn from the Practice of *Homer* and *Virgil.* But as it is plain the Author never design'd it by those Rules, I think it ought rather to be consider'd as a Poem of a particular kind, describing in a Series of Allegorical Adventures or Episodes the most noted Virtues and Vices: to compare it therefore with the Models of Antiquity, wou'd be like drawing a Parallel between the *Roman* and the *Gothick* Architecture." [13] It is to Hughes, therefore, a much more liberal, original, and penetrating critic than Warton, that all the credit for the often-quoted passage from the *Observations* is due.

Warton continues as follows:

> Spenser . . . did not live in an age of planning. His poetry is the careless exuberance of a warm imagination and a strong sensibility. It was his business to engage the fancy, and to interest the attention by bold and striking images, in the formation, and the disposition of which, little labor or art was applied. . . . Exactness in his poem, would have been like the cornice which a painter introduced in the grotto of Calypso. . . . we scarcely regret the loss of ["arrangement and oeconomy"] . . . while their place is so amply supplied, by something which more powerfully attracts us: something, which engages the affections the feelings of the heart, rather than the cold approbation of the head. If there be any poem, whose graces please, because they are situated beyond the reach of art, and where the force and faculties of creative imagination delight, because they are unassisted and unrestrained by those of deliberate judgment, it is this.[14]

Such criticism is sheer lawlessness. It belittles labor, judgment, selection, revision, and the entire architectonic, intellectual element to exalt spontaneity and emotional appeal as the only important things in poetry. According to it, the elaborate, monumental creation of "our sage and serious Spenser" is a piece of careless ex-

[13] Vol. I, p. lx; pointed out by Cory, p. 165, *cf.* p. 147. The greater part of Hughes's preface is reprinted in W. H. Durham's *Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century*, New Haven, 1915.

[14] *Observations*, I, 15-16. The first part of the quotation, through "Calypso," is not in the first edition.

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uberance possessing little plan or art and owing its greatness largely to its faults, to the absence of "exactness" and "deliberate judgment." Furthermore, it seems to imply what Warton unconsciously have believed that subject matter is the main thing in literature, that Spenser's work is great not because of its beauty, its art, but mainly because it furnishes the mind with a pleasant land in which to wander.

It should be observed that all three appraisals of the *Faerie Queene* stand: first, that it lacks plan; second, that it has plan but not that of the classic epic; third, that it is without plan and is better so. They are regarded not as optional but as supplementary one to another; Warton believed them all. To be sure, he writes, "It is absurd to think of judging either Ariosto or Spenser by precepts which they did not attend to;" yet he does so judge them. He lets his condemnation of Spenser's irregularity remain and even places it at the beginning of his book. Furthermore, in his penultimate paragraph he repeats the neo-classic condemnation though with suggestion of the other two positions. "In analysing the Plan and Conduct of this poem, I have so far tried it by epic rules, as to demonstrate the inconveniencies and incongruities, which the poet might have avoided, had he been more studious of design and uniformity. It is true, that his romantic materials claim great liberties; but no materials exclude order and perspicuity . . . I have so far conformed to the reigning maxims of modern criticism, as . . . to recommend classical propriety."[14a] In saying "his romantic materials claim great liberties," Warton seems to touch on his own earlier suggestion that the *Faerie Queene* should be judged by more liberal rules than those of neo-classicism; yet he concludes that, after all allowances have been made, it cannot be brought into conformity with any just standards. Does he, then, fall back upon the romantic justification? By no means. "Nothing is more absurd or useless," he asserted in the Postscript, "than the panegyrical comments of those, who criticise from the imagination rather than from the judgment, who exert their admiration instead of their reason, and discover more of enthusiasm than discernment."[15] Yet, useless and absurd as it was, he had done it, just as he had vaguely held, and probably continued to hold, three

[14a] Not in the first edition.

[15] *Ibid.*, II, 263.

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conflicting standards of esthetic judgment. In so doing, he showed himself to be much like the rest of us and thoroughly typical of the unsettled, transitional age to which he belonged.

He was an antiquary and a poet with little interest in the problems of literary criticism. The critical theories of his own and the immediately preceding age, he accepted, since they seemed to be in harmony with all the criticism he knew from Aristotle down, but probably gave them little real thought, just as he gave little space in his *Observations* to the subjects with which neo-classic criticism had been chiefly concerned. He seems not to have been analytical or to have cared much for the structural element in art—his own writings are notably lacking in it—but, since something had to be said about the plan and the unity of the *Faerie Queene,* he said it. So slight was his interest in such things that he merely repeated the condemnation of his predecessors, together with the suggestion of one of them that Spenser should not be judged by rules which he did not attend to. In his own words, "I have so far conformed to the reigning maxims of modern criticism, as . . . to recommend classical propriety." Yet his real taste and feelings are to be found in the earlier comment: "We scarcely regret the loss of these [proprieties] while their place is so amply supplied, by something which more powerfully attracts us; something, which engages the affections the feelings of the heart, rather than the cold approbation of the head."

This critical dualism, this sharp separation of judgment from enjoyment vitiates Warton's criticism. A writer who condemns what he really likes and approves of what he is actually indifferent to is a dubious guide in matters of taste. If Warton could have faced the issue squarely with a respect for his true likings and instincts, if he had asked himself, for example: "What are the things that I really like in Spenser? Are these things the bases of great poetry? Should the *Faerie Queene* be judged as a classic epic? How serious are the defects that have been pointed out in its plan? What effect did Spenser try to secure? Did he choose the best means to secure it? Are the effects and the means worthy of great poetry? if he had asked himself such questions and had possessed the ability to discuss them, he would have given us a really important book. But this is demanding too much. The hand of tradition lay heavy upon criticism and could not lightly be

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shaken off. None of the writers who felt the charm of medieval literature and architecture possessed at once the courage, the inclination, and the ability to furnish a reasoned justification for their novel taste. Certainly the easy-going Thomas Warton was unequal to so difficult a task; he had too much respect for tradition (natural enough in a lover of the past) and too little power of keen, analytical discrimination. Furthermore, it did not trouble him to condemn as a critic what he enjoyed as a reader; he showed no desire to prove that the beggar with whom he had fallen in love was really a princess in disguise.

But did he really think her a beggar, or are his adverse judgments mere lip-service to the authorities? We cannot be sure, but it looks as if the condemnation of Spenser's irregularities, though it did not disturb him, was genuine. As Percy "was long in doubt, whether . . . [the ballads] could be deemed worthy the attention of the public" and hoped "he need not be ashamed of having bestowed some of his idle hours" on them since they "only served as a relaxation from graver studies,"[16] so Warton may have regarded Gothic architecture and medieval literature as his hobbies, possibly even as his weaknessess,[17] and not as important enough to be the life work of a serious man. It will be remembered that he had a number of tastes which he presumably did not defend—his fondness for public executions, for the music of a drum, and for the company of Oxford watermen. And the profound respect in which men of the eighteenth-century held high seriousness should never be forgotten; for them, enjoying a poem or a picture was one thing, taking it seriously was quite another. The real loves of Thomas Warton and of many of his contemporaries were degraded to the position of mistresses, to whom they gave most of their free time but for whom they asked toleration, not respect.

[16] Preface to the first edition of the *Reliques*. Percy's deprecatory tone, which reappears in his preface to the fourth edition, is not due solely to mock-humility and to deference to the opinions of others; for if he had respected the ballads as much as he liked them, he would not have garbled them as he did.

[17] Note Percy's words to Pinkerton, "I only considered these things as pardonable, at best, among the levities (I had almost said follies) of my youth" (Nichols's *Illustrations*, VIII, 94). It will be recalled that Johnson enjoyed medieval romances but disapproved of them.

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Their homage, their names, their fortunes, their hope of posterity went, in the main, to their conventional wives who came of old families, ladies whom their judgments told them were suitable mates and whom they both admired and liked.

Sir Joshua Reynolds is a striking illustration of this inconsistency. In the *Discourses Delivered in the Royal Academy* he repeatedly warned young artists against the Venetian, Flemish, and Dutch painters; yet it was these painters who roused him to the greatest enthusiasm and who influenced him most profoundly. "Venice never conquered his reason, but she conquered his instincts and feelings and affections, and, for all that reason could do, for thirty years, from his return from Italy until his death, he poured forth work which owes all its power and charm to that very glow and suffusion of colour which year by year he denounced to the pupils of the Royal Academy as a delusion and a snare."[18] Byron is another instance. He preached,

> Thou shalt believe in Milton, Dryden, Pope;[19]

yet this very line occurs in a poem as unlike what Milton, Dryden, and Pope wrote as could well be. Byron knew this; he also recognized the greatness of *Don Juan*,[20] and he must have realized that as his poems grew in power they grew away from the works he held as models. He resembles Reynolds and Warton in that he preached and believed one thing but practiced and liked another.

In Warton's case, this inconsistency, this divided allegiance between wife and mistress, appears in the poetry as well as the criticism. "The Suicide," for example, pictures with notable understanding and sympathy the sufferings of an unfortunate, melancholy man who finally makes way with himself. But the poem does not end on the note of sympathy for the sinner. In the last four stanzas a "cherub-voice" speaks reproof and brings the poem into accord with orthodoxy and propriety:

> Forbear, fond bard, thy partial praise;
> Nor thus for guilt in specious lays
> The wreath of glory twine:

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[18] Preface to the Everyman edition, pp. xiii-xiv.

[19] *Don Juan*, I, ccv; see also his letter to Murray, Sept. 15, 1817.

[20] See his letters to Murray, Aug. 31 and Sept. 4, 1821.

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> **In vain with hues of gorgeous glow**
> **Gay Fancy gives her vest to flow,**
> **Unless Truth's matron-hand the floating folds confine.**

Here again Warton straddles. A little conventional morality patched on at the close will, he feels, do no harm and will prevent any possible misunderstanding. He has not thought the matter through and so does not see that his concluding stanzas seriously impair the unity and effectiveness of the poem which owes its original inception and all its vitality to that very sympathy for the sinner which its apparent purpose is to condemn.

A similar attempt to serve both God and Mammon disfigures the ode "Written at Vale-Royal Abbey." The first twenty stanzas of this poem are devoted to a pensive description of the ruins and to wistful imaginings of the days long since departed—harmless enough, it would seem, but the piece is not allowed to end so. Instead, "severer Reason" is brought in to remind us of the "more useful institutes . . . and new civilities" of modern life and of how

> **Science, on ampler plume, a bolder flight**
> **Essays, escap'd from Superstition's shrine;**
> **While freed Religion, like primeval light**
> **Bursting from chaos, spreads her warmth divine.**

It is safe to say that the poet-professor who rarely went to London but devoted his leisure to ancient manuscripts and medieval ruins had little real concern about "useful institutes" or "new civilities" and that he was more interested in Gothic superstitions than in the science which displaced them; yet, unlike later medievalists, he never asserted and probably would have denied the superiority of the middle ages to the modern. The enlightened eighteenth century was of course better—only he preferred to devote himself to a less civilized period.

Of all the vanished pomps of yesterday, that which seems to have appealed most strongly to Warton was Gothic architecture. Many of his vacations were given over to visiting old churches and castles and to making notes on them in preparation for an extensive work on medieval buildings. Like almost everything else he wrote, his poems give abundant evidence of this enthusiasm; yet they also leave no doubt that he regarded the Gothic as inferior to the classic. In the "Ode for Music," written in

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1751, when he was only twenty-three, he says of the Oxford buildings:

> Nor wants there Graecia's better part,
> 'Mid the proud piles of ancient art,
> Whose fretted spires, with ruder hand,
> Wainflet and Wickham bravely plann'd.[21]

and thirty-one years later, in one of his last pieces, he not only condemns but ridicules the noble art which had been his study and his diversion in countless happy hours. So great an apostasy could not have sprung simply from seeing the pretty windows which Sir Joshua Reynolds painted for New College, Oxford. These were only the occasion which brought out once more the fundamental antagonism between what Warton liked and what his reason approved of, and again the palm was given to reason. "Ah, stay," he cries,

> Ah, stay thy treacherous hand, forbear to trace
> Those faultless forms of elegance and grace!

After a most sympathetic picture of the pleasure he has found in Gothic buildings, he again addresses the painter:

> Ah, spare the weakness of a lover's heart!
> Chase not the phantoms of my fairy dream,
> Phantoms that shrink at Reason's painful gleam!

Yet "of ravish'd pleasures why complain?" He acknowledges the "chaste design"

> The just proportion, and the genuine line;
> Those native portraitures of Attic art

of Reynolds's work and exclaims

> Thy powerful hand has broke the Gothic chain,
> And brought my bosom back to truth again;

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[21] Compare the ode *On his Majesty's Birthday, 1785*, 21-36, especially the following:

> 'Tis his [the king's] to judgment's steady line
> Their [the arts'] flights fantastic to confine . . .
> And bind capricious Taste in Truth's eternal chain.
> Sculpture, licentious now no more,
> From Greece her great example takes . . .
> In native beauty simply plann'd,
> Corinth, thy tufted shafts ascend.

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> To truth, by no peculiar taste confin'd,
> Whose universal pattern strikes mankind . . .
> To truth, whose charms deception's magic quell,
> And bind coy Fancy in a stronger spell.

He now finds humor in the "brawny prophets," the proud saints, the fiercely-frowning virgins, and the mundane angels of Medieval stained glass and bids them

> No more the sacred window's round disgrace,
> But yield to Grecian groupes the shining space.[22]

The point should be stressed; Warton ridiculed medieval stained glass, its colors as well as its drawing, and wished it banished from churches! Surely the force of reason could no further go! The explanation is obvious: by no conceivable distortion of the canons of classic art as they were then understood could highly-colored windows filled with naïve, confusing, badly-drawn details be justified. They could not be brought into the fold as Addison had brought "Chevy Chase" and the "Children in the Wood;" they must be justified in accordance with another aesthetic or abandoned. Warton abandoned them. Their beauty, the pleasure he had for years found in them, the importance of their contribu-

[22] It should be noted that Warton, who edited Greek texts and was one of the most learned men of his day, speaks of "Attic" and "Grecian," not of classic or Roman art. Yet, while the lower tier of Sir Joshua's windows may well be termed "classic" or "neo-classic," there is little in any of them to recall the Greek. The largest was suggested by the Nativity ("La Notte") of Correggio, surely one of the least Attic of painters. Similarly the Radcliffe Camera, referred to as the contribution of "Graecia's better part," is an eighteenth-century English adaptation of Polladio's sixteenth-century Italian adaptation of the Roman, and in spirit is scarcely more like the Parthenon than are the best cathedrals. But of Greek architecture and sculpture little was known in Warton's day, or, indeed, could have been known except by the rare traveller who went to Greece itself. Not until 1815, when the Elgin marbles were first exhibited (the pediment from Aegina and the frieze from Phigaleia became known about the same time), did Western Europe see any significant number of important originals from the best period of Greek art. Those we treasure most, aside from the Parthenon sculptures, were not yet excavated. As a result, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries derived their ideas of classic sculpture, buildings, and, to a considerable extent, of poetry from the Romans, whose forte was not the arts.

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tion to Gothic interiors—all these were as nothing in the face of their non-conformity.

Reynolds's "Grecian groups" did not seem to the laureate out of place in a Gothic church. On the contrary, their presence suggested that a happy union might be made of antique and medieval art. It was Reynolds's achievement

> Not of its pomp to strip this ancient shrine,
> But bid that pomp with purer radiance shine:
> With arts unknown before, to reconcile
> The willing Graces to the Gothic pile.

Warton does not stress the point, which may be little more than a graceful compliment; and there is no reason to believe that he had thought much about it or dreamed of a higher synthesis of the two styles.[23] He loved the Gothic but realized that it did not conform to the classic principles. Could it not be made to conform by the use of such expedients as "Greek" windows? What he had in mind was merely a superficial tinkering or patching up which should not interfere with the charm or the essential character of the medieval church but which should satisfy the rules. Such an attitude is typical of the man. To the last he remained true to the orthodox, neo-classic principles and at the same time a devoted admirer of medieval art which those principles condemned. The condemnation apparently troubled him little; it seems not to have interfered with his enjoyment and certainly did not drive him to any thorough-going examination of the bases of his taste. Criticism he seems to have regarded as a kind of intellectual golf, a game in excellent repute, played according to somewhat arbitrary rules of its own, but quite apart from the realities of life. If he had really grasped the principle underlying his oft-quoted assertion of the folly of "judging either Ariosto or Spenser by precepts which they did not attend to" he would not have condemned Gothic architecture as a "fond illusion" but would have come to see that it has its own laws, its own "reason," "truth," and "just proportion" quite as much as does the Greek.

"It may be," some one will perhaps reply, "but what of it? Do Warton's opinions matter much any way?" To which we may

[23] Miss Rinaker (*Thomas Warton*, 139), thinks otherwise.

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answer with a paradox "which comforts while it mocks" that the truth of Warton's opinions does not matter but their inconsistences and other limitations do. We read the *Observations* and the "Verses on Reynolds's Window," not for light on the *Faerie Queene* or on Gothic architecture, but on a subject about which we know much less,—the mid eighteenth-century. If we are ever to understand this period, it will be through a careful study of such typical figures as Thomas Warton, a study, not only of their successes, but of their failures, a study which does not overlook their conventionality and conservatism in its search for originality and liberalism. Such a study will convince us of the impossibility of tagging the writers of the time as "romantic" or "classic." We have seen that the "Pleasures of Melancholy" is in the main pseudo-romantic, that its author's critical position is usually neo-classic, and had we discussed his best poems, we should have found that in them romantic strains predominate. Even true classicism might be discovered in his Latin poetry and his editions of the Greek anthology and of Theocritus. Yet in everything he wrote, characteristics may be discovered that are usually termed neo-classic, together with other characteristics commonly called romantic. Frequently the two are to be found on the same page, often in the same sentence. But, although evidence of both these qualities, is abundant, there is no warrant for attaching to Thomas Warton the epithet which is often associated with his name,—that of rebel.

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THE VULGAR LATIN QUESTION AND THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMANCE TONGUES: NOTES FOR A CHAPTER OF THE HISTORY OF ROMANCE PHILOLOGY PRIOR TO 1849.

By URBAN T. HOLMES

Romance languages without vulgar Latin would be a hopeless paradox to the twentieth century scholar, as comprehensible as the *Gargantua* or the *Pantagruel* minus Rabelais. Yet for several centuries many learned men, steeped though they might be in Latin lore, sought elsewhere the origin of French, Spanish, and Italian. This was in spite of such striking evidence as the *Fredegarius* and Gregory of Tours, much quoted by Claude Fauchet (1530-1601). Even those who did recognize a vulgar Latin made very little effort to study it.

In 1849 was published *die Romanischen Sprachen in ihrem Verhältnisse zum Lateinischen,*[1] a posthumous work of August Fuchs, one of the early pupils of Diez. This volume of three hundred and sixty-nine pages was seen through the press by Dr. L. G. Blanc, who had previously published a *Grammatik der Italiänischen Sprache* (Halle, 1844). Fuchs's thesis was[2] "dass die Romanischen Sprachen *ganz naturgemässe* Fortbildungen der Römischen Volksprache sind," and, as he would add, "dass man auch von den Romanischen Sprachen haüfig mit ziemlicher Sicherheit auf die Römische Volksprache zurückschliessen kann." This work may be considered as one of the first to attempt the reconstruction of the vulgar Latin tongue. Fuch admits six periods of vulgar Latin: Origins to 745 B. C. (the founding of Rome); 754-240 B. C.; 240-20 A. D.; 20-476 A. D.; 476-842 A. D.; and 842 A. D. to the present time[3] (*sic!*), in which he confuses vulgar with middle and modern Latin. His information for periods one and two must have been particularly hard to find! He devotes one hundred and eleven pages to Lexicography and Word Formation, sixty pages to Accent, Versification, and Rhyme, forty-seven pages to Morphology, some thirteen pages to Phonology, and a mere

[1] Halle, 1849, Druck u. Verlag von H. W. Schmidt.
[2] *Ibid.*, 35. [3] *Ibid.*, 36-47.

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nine pages to Syntax. The last two are meagre in extreme. Save for the last item this makes one think of a grammar of the future, if some of the new school should have their way. For these proportions, which today seem singularly odd, Fuchs has an excuse, in his own words:[4]

Eine vollständige Geschichte der Römischen Volksprache zu geben, ist überhaupt nicht möglich, da unsere Quellen für die Kenntniss derselben äussert spärlich fliessen, was freilich ganz natürlich ist, da in einem so einheitlichen Staate, wie der Römische war, die Hauptstadt der Welt nicht leicht Volksmundarten zur schriftstellerischer Ausbildung gelangen lassen konnte.

Indeed, Fuchs had still to reargue the case for the very existence of vulgar Latin. If it had not been for the powerful voices of such scholars as Jacob Grimm[5] and Friedrich Diez,[6] perhaps we should be rearguing the case today. May I resume briefly this question of origin for the Romance languages, using as my guide and chief source the introductory chapter of Fuchs's book? His references and quotations are full beyond measure.

The first of the moderns to remark upon the existence of a vulgar Roman tongue[6a] was certainly Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo (1369-1444). Apostolic secretary to four of the Popes and later Chancellor of the Florentine Republic, he manifested a keen interest in the Italian language. In his tenth letter to Biondo di Forli, in the sixth book of his collected letters, he writes as follows:[7]

Quaestio nostra in eo consistit, quod tu apud veteres unum eundemque fuisse sermonem omnium putas, nec alium vulgarem, alium litteratum; ego autem, ut nunc est, sic etiam tunc distinctam fuisse vulgarem linguam a litterata estimo.

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[4] *Ibid.*, 35.

[5] See especially his *Lateinische Gedichte des X u. XI jh.*, Göttingen, 1838 (of which he was co-editor with Andr. Schmeller), Göttingen, 1838, 5 ff.

[6] *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, I (1836), 3 ff., and elsewhere.

[6a] The reader must bear constantly in mind the distinction between vulgar Latin or the *sermo vulgaris* which, we assume, existed beside the *sermo classicus* from Plautus on, and the late corrupt Latin, due to barbarians and general loss of culture.

[7] *Epistolarum familiarum libri VIII*, 1495, in-fol.

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He compares the rustic Roman listening to the polished orator with the Italian of his day understanding the Mass and yet not able to speak the learned tongue. Because of these two passages it is generally believed that he confounded Vulgar Latin with modern Italian. He never expressly states this in his long letter on the subject. It is just as probable that in trying to illustrate the phenomenon of a rustic dialect beside a polished speech he made use of a misleading comparison.

The subject was more definitely discussed a hundred and fifty years later by the antiquary Celso Cittadini (1553-1627), who was a philologist as well as a collector of Petrarchiana. He said:[8]

Ora egli è da sapere che per ogni tempo, e prima e poi, furono in Roma due sorti di Lingua. L'una rozza, e mezzo barbara . . . della gente bassa, e pura latina, la quale era propria degli scrittori.

And speaking of the Italian, he added:[9]

che altro non è, che la Lengua volgare degli antichi Romani, *ma rimutato in tanto, in quanto, e come, e perchè, e quando dimostrato avemo.*

He did not believe, at least, that the Italian and vulgar Latin are identical. This theory of a rustic Roman speech continued to find supporters in Italy, while it was rejected elsewhere. It was repeated by such authorities as the Veronese, Scipione Maffei[10] (1675-1755) and Francesco Saverio Quadrio[11] (1695-1756), professor of humanities at Padua, and for a time an apostate and friend of Voltaire. Others of note who professed it were Luigi Lanzi, S. J.[12] (1732-1810) and Carlo Denina[13] (1731-1813), the official librarian of Napoleon from 1804 on.

This brings us to the nineteenth century and to such men as

[8] *Opere di Celso Cittadini, raccolte da Girolamo Gigle.*, Roma, 1721; *Trattato della vera origine, e del Processo, e Nome della nostra Lingua*, sect. II, p. 3.

[9] *Ibid.*, sect. XXIV, p. 97.

[10] *Verona illustrata*, II, 60, Verona, 1731-1732. Begun in 1718, this is a history of his native city.

[11] *Della Storia e della Ragione d'ogni poesia*, Bologna, 1739; Milano, 1742. Vol. I, Part ii, p. 41.

[12] *Saggio di lingua Etrusca e di altre antiche d'Italia*, Rome 1789, Florence 1824, 331.

[13] *La Clef des Langues ou Observations sur l'origine et la formation des principales langues qu'on parle et qu'on écrit en Europe*, Berlin, 1804, II, 2 ff.

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B. Biondelli [14] (1804-1886), Lorenz Diefenbach [15] (1806-1883) and Murgu,[16] who supported Grimm and Diez in the final proof of the theory. That this theory met with opposition well into the nineteenth century will be best observed from the following citations. Raynouard (1761-1836) was especially emphatic; viz.: [17]

Si ces philologues ont voulu dire que, dans le siècle d'Auguste, il existait à Rome, concurremment avec la langue latine, un idiome vulgaire qui a précédé et préparé la langue italienne, c'est-à-dire un idiome particulier, qui faisait usage des articles, des verbes auxiliaires, et qui avait les caractères romans distinctifs, quand, le latin n'employait aucun de ces caractères spéciaux, les personnes les moins impartiales seront forcées de convenir qu'aucune preuve, que même *aucun indice raisonnable* ne permet d'adopter ces assertions.

Sir George Cornewall Lewis (1806-1863), as we shall see further on, though a bitter opponent of Raynouard's theory, was not sympathetic to the existence of a vulgar Latin. To quote him: [18]

There is no trace of the existence in ancient Italy of a language spoken among the lower orders, differing from the Latin in its grammatical structure, of a *patois* or *dialetto*, standing to the Latin in the same relation as the Provençal or Gascon to the French, as the Catalonian to the Spanish, as the Genuese, Mantuan or Bolognese to the Italian.

This none-too-correct comparison shows that Lewis did not have a clear conception of what was meant by vulgar Latin.

[14] *Atlante linguistico d'Europa*, Milano, 1841, p. 104. Biondelli was occupant of the chair of Archeology and Numismatics in the Royal Academy of Milan; his later years were devoted to studies on the Aztec Indians (1861-1869 in particular).

[15] *Ueber die jetzigen romanischen Schriftsprachen, die spanische, portugiesische, rhätoromanische (in der Schweiz) französische, italiänische und dakoromanische (in mehren Ländern des östlichen Europa's) mit Vorbemerkungen über Entstehung, Verwandtschaft u. s. w. dieses Sprachstammes*, Leipzig, 1831, 22. Diefenbach was municipal librarian of Frankfort-am-Main during the years 1848-1876. He was chiefly concerned with Gothic and Celtic.

[16] *Erweis, dass die Wallachen nicht römischer Abkunft sind, und diese nicht aus ihrer italienisch-slawischen Sprache folgt. Mit mehreren Gründen vermehrt*, etc., Ofen, 1827-1830, 49.

[17] *Grammaire comparée des Langues de l'Europe latine dans leurs rapports avec la langue des Troubadours*, Paris, 1821, p. xlviii.

[18] *An Essay on the origin and formation of the Romance languages, Containing an Examination of M. Raynouard's Theory on the Relation of the Italian, Spanish, Provençal, and French to the Latin*, Oxford, 1835, 17.

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But how had men explained the origin of the Romance tongues without acknowledging the existence of a vulgar Latin speech? They had chosen nearly every other explanation possible: descent from a local indigenous language with a slight Latin coating, or, in the case of French, descent from the Greek. Others saw classical Latin modified by German as the origin, and last of all there is the well-known theory of Raynouard.[18a]

Henri Estienne II (1528-1598) was not the first to see a Greek source for the French language. He had one predecessor, if not more, that presumptuous Aristotelian, dom Joachim Piéron (end of XVth century-1559?). Piéron published a development of the theory in 1554, his *De origine linguae gallicae et in ejus cognatione cum graeca dialogorum libri IV*.[19] In this work he lamented that there was no mention of French among the seventy-two languages arising from the confusion at the Tower of Babel.[20] From Cæsar's *Gallic War* [21] he had learned that the Druids used Greek letters in their writings. Why, then, he added, did they not use the Greek language? [22] He did not argue that the common people spoke Greek; but that the Druids must have had a tremendous part in the formation of the Gallic language. Piéron admitted the existence of a small Latin element as well. Here are a few of his Greek etymologies:

brebis < πρόβατον
feu < πύρ
esseier < ἐγχειρίζειν
moi, toi, soi < μοί, σοί, οἱ
moy, toy, soy < μοῦ, σοῦ, οὗ
moé, toé, soé (the actual pronunciation) < μέ, σέ, ἕ
heureux < οὔριος
drap < ῥάκος
jour < ὄρθρον
beaucoup < πολλάκις
oui, aussi, and *ainsi* < οὕτως and οὐτωσί.[23]

[18a] Tenney Frank and other scholars of the present-day are still denying the existence of a *sermo vulgaris* and believe that Latin was corrupted by Greek and Oriental influence, *A. J. P.*, XLV, 161-175.

[19] Paris, 1554.

[20] *Op. cit.*, fol. 14b.

[21] Bk. VI, 14.

[22] *Op. cit.*, fol. 33a ff.

[23] These are taken from folios 42b, 45a. 46a, 48a, 53b, 71a, 61b, 144a, and 142a, respectively.

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As a fitting climax we should mention that he considered the lack of case endings due to Hebrew influence.[24] Henri Estienne II repeated this absurdity. The complete title of his chief work on the subject would ill suit the modern catalogue card:

Traicté de la conformité du langage François avec le Grec, divisé en trois livres, dont les deux premiers traictent des manieres de parler conformes: le troisième contient plusieurs mots François, les uns pris du Grec entièrement, les autres en partie; c'est à dire, en ayant retenu quelsques lettres par lesquelles on peut remarquer leur étymologie: Avec une préface remonstrant quelque partie du desordre et abus qui se commet aujourdhuy en l'usage de la langue Françoise. En ce Traicté, sont descouverts quelsques secrets tant de la langue Grecque que de la Françoise: duquel l'auteur et Imprimeur est Henry Estienne, fils feu Robert Estienne. In 8, Paris, 1566.

Two of Estienne's etymologies from another work are famous and well worth the quoting. We shall do so in translation:[25]

It has long seemed to me that this noun *amiral* is derived from the Greek ἁλμυρός, and it is to be believed that the later Greeks have used ἁλμυρά as a noun for the sea itself. I know that there are some who would derive this word from the word *emir*, which the Moors call a *thassalarch* or sea commander. I am not ignorant of the fact that there are those who derive it from Arabic, none the less foolishly than those who wish *almanach* to be Arabic or Chaldæan: when frequently there occurs in the German vernacular the expression from which this is derived. For when they [the Germans] are about to narrate something, they begin with the time that it occurred, and they are wont to say, *Als man nach der geburt Jesu Christi unsers seligmachers gezelt hat 1560 vel 1570*, or whatever other year is to be put. None of those to whom I have communicated this etymology have ever disagreed with me; nor do I think that those who read this will disagree.

But there were some in the sixteenth century who held to surer facts. Daniel George Morhof (1639-1691), in his *Polyhistor*, a literary encyclopedia of the year 1688, quotes Scaliger:[26]

Frustra laborant, ait *Scaliger*, in Primis Scalig, p. 99, Perionus, H. Stephanus et alii, in Gallicae linguae ex Graeca repetenda origine, ac utriusque cognatione probanda, quasi res ita se haberet: cum certissimum sit, et hanc et Hispanam Italamque, a Romana Italaque corrupta fluxisse.

I have not been able to locate the original for this quotation, but

[24] *Op cit.*, fol. 50b.
[25] *De latinitate falso suspecta*, 1576, 328.
[26] Ed. a. J. Müller, Lübeck, 1708, IV, 4, 11.

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the mention of Stephanus indicates that Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) must be intended. His father, Julius Cæsar Scaliger, died in 1558, and Stephanus' work did not appear till later.[27]

Nearly as strange were the attempts to derive Spanish from Basque,[28] Rhätoromance from Etruscan,[29] and Italian from Etruscan and Aramaic.[30]

The Druids and the Celtic languages seized the XVIIIth century by storm.[31] We need not wonder that Jean François Duclos (1705-1752) proposed to see in French a mixture of Classical Latin and Celtic.[32] This view was continued by La Ravalière in the *Histoire Littéraire;* but it was Antoine Court de Gébelin (1725-1784) who made the theory famous. This Protestant minister, who was at the same time Royal censor and a great champion of tolerance, expressed it in these terms:[33]

Les mots français descendus de la langue celtique constituent le fond même de notre Langue et forment des familles immenses.

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[27] We must not forget the two authorities who would derive French entirely from the Hebrew, Etienne Guichard (1610) and Thomassin, the former cited by Besnier in his preface to Ménage's *Dictionaire Etymologique ou Origines de la Langue Françoise*, Paris, 1694, 6; also cited by Gébelin, *Monde primitif*, etc. (see n. 33), p. xxxiii.

[28] Besnier, *op. cit.*, p. 5, gives as the originator of this theory a jurisconsult Emmanuel Poça (end of XVIth century). I can find no trace of this man. There was, however, a lawyer, Andrés de Poça, who died in 1595 and who was interested in linguistic subjects. I suspect this is the authority referred to. The theory was carried still further by Arnault de Oihenart (1592-1668) and Manuel Larramendi (1690 ? — 1750). Oihenart, a French Basque, who later collaborated in the French translation of the New Testament, occupied himself with this subject in his *Notitia utriusque Vasconiae, tum ibericae, tum aquitanicae*, Paris, 1638. Larramendi was a well-known cosmographer.

[29] See Joseph von Hormayr (1781-1841) in his *Geschichte der gefürsteten Graffschaft Tyrol*, Tübingen, 1806-1808, I, 17. This theory was also held by Planta, whose work on Etruscan is still useful!

[30] See Pietro Francesco Giambullari (1495-1555) in his *Origine della lingua fiorentina, altrimenti il Gello*, Florence, 1549.

[31] Consult "Blake et les Celtomanes," *Modern Philology*, XXIII, 175-188, an article by Denis Saurat.

[32] *Sur l'Origine et les Révolutions des Langues Celtique et Françoise* in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XV.

[33] *Monde primitif analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne, considéré dans les Origines françoises; ou dictionnaire étymologique de la langue françoise*, Paris, 1778, VIII.

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Of special interest for the vulgar Latin controversy is another observation of his:

Nous regardons la Langue Celtique comme la source du François, tandis que jusques à présent on a toujours été dans l'idée que le François, n'étoit en quelque sorte qu'un Latin corrompu.

Then further on, in elucidating his theory, he says:

Malheureusement ce n'est pas ainsi que se sont conduits ceux qui ont cherché l'Origine de la Langue Françoise. Ils n'ont vu que *du Latin* dans le François. Sourds à la voix de ceux qui vouloient les ramener à la Langue Celtique, ils ont préféré les *étymologies les plus étranges, les plus absurdes, aux étymologies simples et lumineux que leur auroit fourni la Langue Celtique*, et ils ont fait un chaos des Origines de la Langue Françoise.

Ottavio Mazzoni Toselli [34] and Pierre Louis Ginguené [35] (1748-1816) extended this Celtic theory to include Italian.

That the Romance languages are classical Latin acted upon by Germanic invaders was first developed by Wolfgang Hunger (1511-1555), chancellor at Freising, rector of the University of Ingolstadt.[36] Followers of this popular theory were the Petrarchist, Cardinal Peter Bembo [37] (1470-1547), librarian of the Duke of Modena, G. Tiraboschi, S. J.[38] (1731-1794), the Spaniard Bernardo José Alderete [39] (1565-1645), the Portuguese Nunes de Leão [40] fl. 1576), D. G. Morhof [41] (1639-1691), the Swiss historian, J. C.

[34] *Origini della lingua italiana*, Bologna, 1831.

[35] *Histoire littéraire d' Italie*, Paris, 1811-1823. Ginguené's first lectures on this subject were given in 1806.

[36] In his *Linguae germanicae vindicatio contra exoticas quasdam, quae cumplurium vocum et dictionum mere germanicarum Etymologias ex sua petere sunt conati*, 1586. He is mentioned by Justus George Schottel (1612-1676) in his *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Deutschen Haupt-Sprache*, Braunschweig, 1663, 123 ff.

[37] See *Le Prose di M. Pietro Bembo, nelle quali si ragiona della volga lingua*, Vinezia, 1575.

[38] *Storia della letteratura Italiana*, Firenza, 1805-1813, Vol. III, 1, pp. viii, ix, xi. There are twenty volumes of this work.

[39] *Del origen de la lengua castellana ó romance que oi se usa en Espana*, Roma, 1606, II, 1.

[40] *Origem da lingoa Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1606, 28.

[41] *Polyhistor*, IV, 4, 16.

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L. Sismondi[42] (1773-1842), and most of all that great precursor of Romanticism, A. W. von Schlegel[43] (1767-1845). Indeed the theory was even ascribed to him by some. As Sir George Lewis (1806-1863) said:[44] "It seems that there is no reason for not adopting the explanation of Schlegel that the change produced in the Latin was purely the effect of the German conquest." A rather more moderate view was assumed by Blanc, the editor of Fuchs' book. Without German influence, he believed, Latin would have developed more slowly, but, perhaps, it would have arrived eventually at the Romance stage.[45]

Indeed, by the beginning of the nineteenth century nearly every scholar was convinced that the Romance languages had Latin as their basis. It was merely a question of what intervened. Gustave Fallot (1807-1836) stated this belief firmly in 1836:[46]

Le français est un dégagement natural et régulier du latin, et du latin seul: on l'en voit sortir, on suit jusqu'au latin l'origine de toutes ses règles grammaticales.

But before vulgar Latin was to be universally admitted, it remained for François Juste Marie Raynouard (1761-1836) to present a modification like a bolt from the blue. The end of the life of this poet, *sécrétaire perpétuel* of the Academy, was filled with much philological interest. Let his theory be stated in his own words:[47]

Français, Espagnols, Portugais, Italiens et vous tous dont l'idiome vulgaire se rattache aux idiomes de ces peuples, vous êtes sans doute surpris et charmés des identités, des nombreux rapports, des analogues incontestables que vous découvrez sans cesse entre vos langages particuliers; permettez-moi de vous expliquer la cause; c'est qu'il a existé, il y a plus de dix siècles, une langue qui, née du latin corrompu, a servi de type commun à ces langages. Elle a conservé plus particulièrement ses formes dans un idiome illustré par des poètes qui furent nommés troubadours.[48] . . .

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[42] *Die Literatur des südlichen Europa's*, Deutsch herausgeg. v. Ludw. Hain, Leipzig u. Altenburg, 1816-1819, I, 11.

[43] *Observations sur la langue et littérature Provençales*, Paris, 1818.

[44] *Op. cit.*, 29.

[45] *Grammatik der Italiänischen Sprache*, Halle, 1844, 10.

[46] *Recherches sur les formes grammaticales de la langue française et de ses dialectes au XIII. siècle; publiées par Paul Ackermann; et précédées d'une notice sur l'auteur par M. B. Guerard*, Paris, 1839, 449.

[47] *Grammaire comparée*, etc., 1 ff.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. iii.

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Il a existé une langue intermédiaire dont le type a fourni les élements et les formes de nos idiomes actuels.

In brief, from a debased Latin was formed Provençal, and this served as the common mother of the other Romance tongues. It is easy enough to follow the train of Raynouard's thoughts. The Provençal poetry composed in Italy and Spain was well fitted to throw him off the track. That the Provençal dialects have affinities with French, Italian, and even Spanish, is true. I have in mind a remark by one of our most distinguished present-day scholars which was made to me more or less humorously; namely, that you may find any form or any sound change in the many Provençal dialects if you search long enough. Such a state of affairs evidently misled Raynouard.[48a] His solution of the question had, however, a great vogue. To quote from Lewis:[49]

The same theory has been adopted by Champollion-Figéac, by Sismondi in the later editions of his work on the Literature of Southern Europe, by Niccolini Lampredi, and Ugo Foscolo, and it is received by Balbi as the established opinion in his Ethnographic Atlas. Bernhardy likewise in his *Grundlinien zur Encyclopädie der Philologie* (p. 188), appears to consider the Provençal as intermediate between the Latin and the other Romance languages.

Giulio Perticari (1779-1822) also shared this belief:[50]

Quindi possiamo dire che la latina veramente fu avola, ma la romana (Provençal) fu madre delle nuove favelle che ora si parlano in tante parti d'Europa.

On the other hand Raynouard was vigorously opposed by Lewis, Bruce-Whyte,[51] and Jean Jacques Ampère[52] (1800-1864), the son of the great physicist, as well as by A. W. von Schlegel. But he would not submit. To aid in confounding the opposition he com-

[48a] It is probable too that he was influenced by Claude Fauchet, *Recueil de l'Origine de la Langue et Poesie Française*, Paris, 1581, 28.

[49] *Op. cit.*, 7.

[50] *Scrittori del Trecento*, I, 7.

[51] *Histoire des Langues Romanes et de leur littérature depuis leur origine jusqu'au XIV siècle*, Paris, 1841, 3 vols.

[52] *Histoire de la Littérature française au moyen age comparée aux littératures étrangères. Introduction. Histoire de la formation de la langue française.* It is worthy of passing note that the great scientist bitterly resented his son's interest in the history of letters.

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posed that invaluable *Lexique roman ou dictionnaire de la langue des Troubadours* (Paris, 1838-1840, 6 vols.), which, enlarged by the Lévy supplement, still serves as our basic lexicon for Old Provençal. Raynouard states his purpose in his Introduction: [53]

Quelque soin que j'aie mis à démontrer la conformité de leurs éléments constitutifs [speaking of the neo-latin tongues], la concordance de leurs formes essentielles, l'analogie de leurs combinaisons diverses, malgré les rapprochements nombreux que j'ai établis, les rapports souvent identiques que j'ai indiqués, *beaucoup de personnes hésitent encore à croire qu'elle (Provençal) fut la source commune de ces divers idiomes.* Dans cet état de choses, et pour détruire jusqu'au moindre doute, j'ai cru devoir entreprendre pour la lexicographie ce que j'avais essayé de faire pour les formes grammaticales.

From errors are born great things. We are grateful for the *Lexique.*

Having traced the history of these early theories of the origin of the Romance tongues, we must call to mind once more this book of August Fuchs. Overshadowed by greater and more long-lived contemporaries, he wrote a curious and distant forerunner of that splendid book, *Introduction to Vulgar Latin,* by Charles H. Grandgent.

An interesting fact to note in this discussion is the rôle played by the Italians in early Romance philology. Although they have been little quoted, it was certainly their reflections on the origin of their own language which initiated for us so much that is sound of our Romance philology of the present day.

The University of North Carolina.

[53] *Lexique,* I, XIV.

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THE *CHAUCER CONCORDANCE*[1]

By JAMES F. ROYSTER

A few days before I received my bulky copy of the long-awaited *Chaucer Concordance,* I had read an announcement that the *Concordance* would probably be published in 1878 and 1879. This was a rash promise made by F. J. Furnivall, Esq. in the Third Report of the Chaucer Society (1872). Diverted from the text, as I always am by any one of Doctor Furnivall's forewords, reports, or announcements, I had there read:

> As Mr. Dalgleish at once gave up his own scheme of a Chaucer Concordance in our favour, and offered to work with us, I shall probably ask him to be good enough to put our materials together, and edit the Concordance for us. As soon as the details of the plan are settled,—a trial-scheme is at press,—the work will start, and will go on with the progress of the Texts, *without weighing too heavily on the workers.* It will probably be completed in 1877 and printed in 1878 and 1879. The Society's work would clearly be incomplete without a Chaucer Concordance, including a list of the poet's rymes.

Fifty years had to run after this cheerily casual proclamation before Chaucer should take his place as a concordanced English poet beside the author of *Beowulf,* beside Kyd, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Gray, Burns, Cowper, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson, but, at last, in form, "one of the largest [concordances] ever made in any language . . . and perhaps quite the most difficult to construct."

No one is able to appreciate more keenly than the authors of the *Chaucer Concordance* the unintended humor of the phrase which I have caused to be set in italics; nor could any one more easily and gracefully than they have done pay full tribute to the "learning, energy, and magnetism" of the great personality which even in his failure to get the concordance work done still stands behind this colossal undertaking. Had he lived to see its completion, Doctor Furnivall would have been the first among Chaucer

[1] *A Concordance to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and to the Romaunt of the Rose.* By John S. P. Tatlock and Arthur G. Kennedy. Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1927. Pp. xiii + 1110.

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scholars to express the deep indebtedness which we owe Professor Tatlock and Professor Kennedy for their unselfish labors and the great praise which we are glad to bestow upon them for highly useful work well done.

In the Preface the authors give an account of the progress of this high adventure in scholarship, an interesting story of its constantly changed plans, of the failure of this editor and of that, of delay, of discouragement, and—one would think—of well-founded despair when in 1915 they assumed the undertaking and determined that for the plan which they had decided to follow they could not use the more than a million record-slips which Professor Ewald Flügel, during the nearly twenty-five years of his editorship of the *Concordance,* had collected with pious scholarly care.

Professor Flügel had diverted the project from a concordance to a dictionary.[2] It is fortunate that the new directors of the enterprise wisely determined to put aside Professor Flügel's immense dictionary material, as valuable as this will yet prove to be for the Middle English Dictionary projected by the Modern Language Association of America under the direction of Professor Clark Northup at Cornell University. Those of us who have a reasonable life-expectancy of no more than a quarter of a century would probably have had no use of the dictionary if the Flügel plan as exhibited in the *Anglia* specimens had been followed. And without doubt a concordance to Chaucer's writings is of higher practical value and will more greatly aid the study of the poet than would a dictionary of his works. Certain it is that a competent dictionary could not have been made without the preliminary labor of noting all the uses of the words to be defined. Furthermore, the ultimate derivation of every word in the Chaucer text is of no great concern to Chaucer's language. We have studied far more the meanings and etymologies of his words than we have his individual practice in the use of them. Lexical treatment of a fairly competent sort Chaucer has received in Skeat's admirable Glossorial Index; but search the items listed under "Chaucer's Language" in Miss Hammond's *Bibliography,* in

[2] Interesting specimens of Flügel's plan may be found in *Anglia*, XXIV, 354-422, and XXXVII, 497-532.

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Griffith's *Bibliography,* in Kennedy's *Bibliography of Writings on the English Language,* and elsewhere, and you will find references to many studies in phonology, morphology, and syntax (though by no means enough of the last), but practically nothing of investigation of Chaucer's vocabulary.

This condition is natural enough. Without a concordance to Chaucer's works, such study is laborious in its details and without thorough checking and rechecking uncertain and unreliable in its results. Professor Skeat and Professor Lounsbury years ago attempted the use of a vocabulary test upon the question of Chaucer's authorship of the *Romaunt of the Rose,* the one against the genuineness of the whole poem as Chaucer's, the other for it.[8] Each warned his readers that the results were probably not accurate, Professor Skeat admitting a possible error proportion of five per cent., Professor Lounsbury conceding the possibility of twenty per cent. of mistakes, though doubting whether it would be found to be higher than his adversary's percentage. "Until a complete Concordance to Chaucer's works has been prepared," said Professor Lounsbury at the time, "certainty cannot well be claimed for every instance given." This is quite true. It is now the effort of but a few hours to verify Professor Lounsbury's word-list by the aid of the *Chaucer Concordance* and against a record of all the words which Chaucer used but once, which can be made up with no great effort, and to find seventeen per cent. of errors in his group of single use of words in the "Prologue" of the *Canterbury Tales.*

A concordance will, of course, be used by no serious linguistic student without verification from the text of all the index's references. For him it is only a guide, not an authoritative record. Assurance of dependence upon it for inclusiveness and accuracy of citation is, however, of the utmost importance to him. Verification of the whole *Chaucer Concordance* in these respects would be a task almost as great as the compilation of the index itself. In addition to the use of the *Chaucer Concordance* in checking Professor Lounsbury's list and in tracing several hundred other scattered words, I have taken for thorough checking, a cross-

[8] "Essays on Chaucer" (No. IV), *Chaucer Society Publications,* 1884; *Studies in Chaucer,* II, 19 ff. and Appendix.

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section of Chaucer text amounting to more than six hundred lines and probably about twenty-five hundred separate words.[4] In carrying out this test from the Globe text I have been able to find no omission of entry, no misquoted line, and no incorrect line reference. Such a record of absolute accuracy is very likely not kept up throughout the more than eleven hundred double-columned pages, but certainly the dependability of the whole work is indicated in the haphazardly chosen parts.

For linguistic use, especially for aid in syntactical study, the average concordance is greatly restricted by its omission of many commonly occurring words. The omissions are, of course, a concession to labor and to the cost of publication; perhaps the inclusion of all the uses of *have,* for example, in any writer's works would not be justified by the results of any study which might be made of it from a concordance record. The *Chaucer Concordance* is much more valuable in this respect than its forerunners among English concordances. By the considerations named above it is forced to restrict itself to specimen illustrations (in fairly generous quantity) of about one hundred and forty words: conjunctions, frequently used adverbs, articles, interjections, pronouns, the common negatives, *man, men,* the verbs *be, have may, might, quod, say, said;* but it does include a very useful compilation of all the Chaucerian uses of *do* and *did* (20 columns), *shall* and *should* (28 columns), *will* and *would* (19 columns), *can* and *could* (8 columns), *gan* (7 columns), *come* and *came* (10 columns), *go* and *went* (12 columns).

Little objection may be raised against the plan of the *Chaucer Concordance.* The text upon which the record of Chaucer's word-use is based is that of the Globe edition. This text is preferred over that of the Oxford Chaucer because, in the authors' view, "its text is rather more conservative, and in some parts based on a larger number of MSS." Perhaps Professor Skeat himself would not have made a protest against this choice, since the Globe text is not said to be "more scientifically constructed" than his own,

[4] Lines 1-10 of the "Prologue" of the *Canterbury Tales;* 1-30 of the *Nunne Preestes Tale;* 1-20 of the *Bok of the Duchesse;* the Invocation to the Third Book of *Troilus and Creseyde; L'Envoy to Scogan;* all the lines spoken by the Host.

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the only phrase in the comparisons made between the two texts in the reviews of thirty years ago which seemed to arouse him sharply. The line numbering of the Globe edition is consistently followed; its minor inaccuracies and obviously incorrect forms are silently corrected—some not caught in time to be incorporated into the text are added on an errata page—but with full intention the Globe text is allowed to stand against "what may seem to some a preferable reading"; after their experience the authors feel more than ever that the text of Chaucer on the whole is in good condition. Some twenty-five hundred variant readings from their basic Globe text they do, however, record, with the aim of providing "all variants of importance which an editor might choose for a text"—"for three-quarters of Chaucer's poetry . . . the most important variants from practically all existing MSS." Besides the well-known printed texts, the authors had at their disposal the collations which Professor Tatlock had made of many of the extant MSS. of the *Canterbury Tales,* the Stevenson-MacCracken collection of collations "of nearly all the extant MSS. of the Tales," and Professor Fred N. Robinson's text material. For the most part, the variants illustrate well-established Chaucerian usage and are embedded in long lists of word-use; but in a good many instances the variants furnish the only recorded appearance of a word. Examples are: *bastard, Paindemain, prived, scorchith, shille, swart, verytrot, vie, whist, wrak, trompours,* and *troublere.*

What is an important and an unimportant variant is here left to the judgment of the concordance makers, who in this function become text editors. It would be valuable to have the full record of all variants—though many are quite meaningless for text purposes—especially of those which illustrate words not found in the conventional texts. As to the variants which are recorded, it is stated in the Preface that those taken from the MSS. and not to be found in the printed texts are indicated after the quotations. ("The authority for a variant is not mentioned when it is easily accessible, as in a publication of the Chaucer Society; otherwise the MS. or other text is indicated after the line-number by a list of abbreviations" given on page ix. Page v). Twenty MSS. from which it is said "certain variants are taken" are there named and symboled. Of twenty-five hundred or more variants recorded and marked by *var,* I have been able to find but twenty-one indicated

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by abbreviations to show that they are drawn from unprinted sources.[5] Twenty are noted as being taken from Thynn's 1532 edition of *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer*,[6] quite as accessible in Skeat's facsimile reprint as are the Chaucer Society prints. Students of Chaucer's text would be interested to know whether it is implied by the indicated inclusion of only twenty-one variants from the twenty unprinted MSS. examined that all variants of importance for a future editor except these twenty-one have been used in printed texts or are recorded in easily procured books.

Upon a first use of the *Chaucer Concordance* one may be disturbed to find that the head-words are given in their modern spellings, except in the case of Chaucerian words now obsolete, which are recorded in a "normal" Middle English form. There is a certain amount of confusion in being continually transferred from the old to the immediately present, in being caught up with a jerk when one finds *swich(e)* under *such, fithele* under *fiddle,* or *gynglen* under *jingling;* but even a moderate use of the index will convince anyone, I think, that it would have been almost impossible to follow the manuscript spellings in the head-words without laying upon the authors an additional heavy and a wasteful task which would in the end only increase the difficulties of the word-seeker. Compound words give one the most trouble, for, as the authors warn us, no rigidly definite system was followed in forming their record. Such words may be found listed as a single word or as two words under either of its parts: *godfather, for-wery, evensong,* for example, stand alone, but *over-lippe* is recorded under *over* (where fortunately it is the first citation in a long list

[5] From: Additional 35,286, *C. T.*, E. 2230; Bodley 619, *Astr.* 365-8; Barlow 20, *C. T.*, E. 1306; Christchurch, *C. T.*, A. 3709 and *C. T.*, I, Pars 5; Devonshire, *C. T.*, B. 4060a; Egerton 2726, *C. T.*, A. 4109; Hatton Donat, *C. T.* D. 1746; Harley 7333, *C. T.*, G. 555; Laud 739, *C. T.*, A. 60; Lichfield, *C. T.*, A. 359; Cambridge Ii, *C. T.*, A. 2037, *C. T.*, E. 2230, and *C. T.*, E. 2428; Paris, *C. T.*, E. 2230; Royal College of Physicians, *C. T.*, E. 1306; Rawlinson Poetry 149, *C. T.*, A, 752, and *C. T.*, E. 1306; Selden B. 14, *C. T.*, B. 1864, and *C. T.*, G. 558; Trinity College (Camb.) 49, *C. T.*, B. 1883. A few of these variants are given under more than one head-word.

[6] Pages 34, 40, 53, 128, 146, 208, 264, 300, 454, 549, 595 (three entries), 633, 653, 698, 704, 783, 1078, 1081.

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of *overs*) and under *lip* in a run of only a few entries. Extensive use of cross reference goes a great way toward smoothing over the almost inescapable inconsistencies of any cataloguing system which the authors might have adopted.

It is indeed fortunate that the standard of the execution of the whole work has met the high demands of the importance of the *Chaucer Concordance*. The task has been done in definitive form.

Only a genuine devotion to the needs of scholarship drives on the concordance maker. The inspiration which comes from expectantly following enticing clues is not present to arouse the lister, the indexer, and the checker of words. We may only hope that those who may now labor more easily and certainly because Professor Tatlock and Professor Kennedy have labored so long and patiently may be worthy of their efforts. As great as is the debt which we owe them, we should not fail to appreciate the help given the concordance making by many volunteer readers and by two institutions of learning. Stanford University was generous to the authors, as it had been to Professor Flügel before them, in so relieving them of routine duties that their time might be given to Chaucer and his words. The financial aid of the Carnegie Institution of Washington made possible the publication of the book. To this organization we are now indebted for the appearance of four concordances[7] and of several other valuable humanistic studies. In the hope that their names may find an even wider circulation, the honor roll of volunteer workers is here reprinted in the form in which it appears in the Preface to the *Chaucer Concordance*.

Thanks are gladly given to the following generous collaborators some of them college professors and deans, scattered all the way from Massachusetts to Honolulu, for making the slips: Mrs. R. L. Hampton, Mrs. S. A. Huston, Mrs. F. N. Kerwin (double amount), Mrs. W. E. Lockwood, Mrs. G. H. Martin, Mrs. W. A. Matzinger, Mrs. N. H. Petree, Mrs. L. E. Read, Mrs. Ira Van Vlear; Misses A. M. Bille, J. M. Burnham, Mary Calloway, E. J. Cleveland, H. L. Cohen, C. A. Davidson, Charlotte D'Evelyn (double

[7] The others are: Osgood's *Concordance to the Poems of Edmund Spenser* (1915); Cooper's *Concordance to the Works of Horace* (1916); Baldwin's *Concordance to the Poems of John Keats* (1917).

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The University of North Carolina.

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SOME VERSES OF CICERO

By G. A. Harrer

Cicero dabbled in verse for a good many years off and on, trying his hand at translation and at original production, in which he favored the Epic form.[1] But the fates have been unkind perhaps to Cicero the poet; at least they have not left even one of his poems entire. That a considerable total of lines from various poems is extant, made up of many groups of a few lines each and of many single lines, is due to the fact that Cicero, being fond of his own poetry, often quoted himself in his prose-works, and to the fact that late grammarians saw fit to cull from him some lines in which they found something that interested them in their study of the Latin language. One fragment only, though a very long one, from his translation of Aratus' *Phaenomenon* has been transmitted in its own manuscript. Some few lines have come down the ages by other routes, but not many.

Comments, however, on Cicero's verse are not wanting. From his own life-time they come, and they are to be found in a number of writers for more than a century after his death. There are comments vague and general, and comments on a few particular lines. I suspect that the prevailing attitude in the general comments may have been due to a generalizing of the criticisms which centered upon a very few verses. But of this later. At first I should like to survey briefly, largely through the general comments about him, Cicero's reputation as a poet in Roman times. And here no searching analysis of subject or technique is to be expected, for none such is extant, if ever made. Brief critiques, searching enough, are, however, to be found.

Cicero's approval of his own verses may be properly accepted from his frequent quotations, some of which are delivered by the mouth of a character in a dialogue. Cicero could probably count on at least a polite interest in his poetical work from Atticus, to whom

[1] This paper was read in part at the annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Southern Section, at Lexington, Virginia, April 29, 1927.

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he sometimes writes of it. Quintus even urged him to compose an epic on Caesar in Britain, though his thought probably was to help establish good relations between Caesar and Cicero. To do justice to Cicero's becoming modesty, however, it should be added that he yielded the palm in poetical composition to brother Quintus; he says so in a letter, and adds that he makes the admission "without, by Hercules, any irony."[2] At the beginning of *De Legibus,* Cicero, by the mouth of Quintus, refers to a verse written by a Scaevola (possibly the great jurist, Q. Mucius Scaevola, the augur)[3] in praise of the epic on Marius. And a grandson of Marius, appealing by letter to Cicero to defend him in court, thought it worth while to remind the orator that the Marius was a bond between them.[4] To P. Lentulus Spinther, the consul of 57 B. C., so influential in securing the return from exile, Cicero promised to send a copy of his *De Temporibus Suis,* evidently in expectation of a favorable reception.[5] Most interesting is the criticism of Caesar. Quintus in 54 wrote[6] that Caesar approved of a poem of Cicero's. Later in the year Cicero has had a letter from Caesar, who has read the first book and asserts that he has not read even in Greek anything better than the first part, but that the rest of it was "up to a particular passage somewhat careless." Cicero wants Quintus to find out whether the subject or the style did not please him—"you needn't be afraid; I shall not admire myself one whit the less."[7] It does not matter for our present purpose what poem was as good as any Greek production. Probably it was the *De Temporibus Suis.*[8] To the individual taste may be left the question of the impartiality of Caesar's criticism. This was a time when Caesar wanted at least a favorable political attitude from Cicero. Such is the friendly criticism of contemporaries. The unfriendly is all concerned with individual lines and will be considered later in this paper.

[2] *Ad. Q. F.*, III, 4, 4.
[3] Teuffel, (6th ed.), I, 434.
[4] *Ad. Att.*, XII, 49.
[5] *Ad. Fam.*, I, 9, 23.
[6] *Ad. Q. F.*, II, 13, 2.
[7] *Ad. Q. F.*, II, 15, 5. Quoted phrases from Shuckburgh's translation.
[8] The *De Consulatu Suo* seems to have been completed in 60 B. C., and the *De Temporibus Suis* in 54. See below for discussion of these poems.

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In the next generation, Horace, who mentions several Roman poets of the Republic, and Ovid, who refers to a number, know nothing of the poet, Cicero. I think that Cornelius Nepos [9] is the first writer to specify the leading poets of the last period of the Republic; namely, Lucretius and Catullus, with an unknown L. Iulius Calidus as a worthy successor. Nepos was a friend of Cicero; he even wrote a biography of him, but he did not put him in the list. Velleius Paterculus, who published his history in 30 A. D., has also a list of poets [10] of the late Republic: Lucretius, Catullus, and Varro. Cicero [11] is extravagantly praised, but as orator and patriot, not as poet.

The elder Seneca, a contemporary of Velleius, is the first writer in the Empire to mention Cicero's verse. In a *Controversia,* discussing the failure in one branch of literature of men who are eminently successful in another, he directly quotes the words of Cassius Severus, "Cicero's eloquence failed him in his poems.[12] Severus was a well known orator of the Augustan age, and his bold statement represents an opinion that may have become general within a generation from Cicero's time.[13] The philosopher Seneca also pays his respects: "Cicero, if you should laugh at his poems, would be your enemy." [14] Then Martial writing to Gaurus: "you even deserve praise for writing poems with no help from the Muses and Apollo, for you have this failing in common with Cicero." [15] Tacitus, also epigrammatic, has this in his *Dialogus:* [16] "[Caesar and Brutus] wrote poems and presented them to libraries—they did no better than Cicero, but had better luck because fewer people know that they wrote verse." Quintilian, too, though very fond of Cicero, does not spare his verse. His criticisms and quotations will be considered, and that of Juvenal, also critical. Pliny in his

[9] Nepos, *Atticus,* 12, 4.

[10] *History,* II, 36.

[11] *Op. Cit.,* II, 66.

[12] *Controv., III, praef. 8:* Ciceronem eloquentia sua in carminibus destituit.

[13] For the dates of Severus see Teuffel (7th ed.), II, 164.

[14] *De Ira,* III, 37, 5. It is possible that Seneca, quoted by Aulus Gellius, XII, 2, alludes to Cicero's verse. If so, the allusion is not complimentary. The passage will be discussed later.

[15] *Epigrams,* II, 89, dated about 86 A. D.

[16] *Dial.,* 21, 6.

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Letters refers to Cicero's verse, but without critical comment, except to justify his own versifying because Cicero (and others) had practiced the art.[17] From Plutarch comes the information that Cicero could do five hundred lines in a night,[18] and this remark: "He had the name of being not only the best orator, but also the best poet of Rome . . . but his verses are forgotten and out of all repute."[19] The statement is often accepted as true for the time just before Lucretius and Catullus. It is hardly an independent judgment of Plutarch, but may well be based ultimately on Tiro's Life of Cicero.[20] The latest general comment is given by the anonymous writer of the *Scholia Bobiensia* probably in the fourth century:[21] "In writing verses it is clear that Tullius was a lover of poetry, although, having in mind his oratory in which he particularly excelled, he may not appear in his verse to have been equal to himself."[22] The source of this may be the scholarly commentator Asconius of the first century after Chirst.[23]

So then, all the general comment from the time of the Empire which may be based on independent judgment is unfavorable. But this is not the whole story. We must now turn to a study of a few individual lines which are, all of them, to be found in his autobiographic verse.

After the eventful year of his consulship Cicero seems early to have thought of the desirability of having his deeds recorded in a literary form. The very next year, in his well-known defence of Archias, Cicero states that the poet has begun a work on the saving of the city.[24] Obviously it was to deal with the conspiracy, and possibly to include all the history of the consulship. Possibly the *Pro Archia* was by Cicero considered as a *quid pro quo;* but, if so, he was to be disappointed, for about the middle of the next year,

[17] *Ep.*, V, 3, 5.

[18] *Cicero*, 40.

[19] *Cicero*, 2.

[20] Directly or indirectly Plutarch used Tiro largely as a source. See A. Rosenberg, *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur Röm. Geschichte*, p. 216. Nepos is not likely to be the source, for his list of poets of the late Republic did not contain Cicero, as we have seen.

[21] Schanz., *Gesch. der Röm. Lit.* (3rd ed.), VIII, 1, 2, 402.

[22] *Schol. Bob.* on "pro Sestio," 58, par. 123.

[23] Schanz., 284-286.

[24] *Pro Archia*, 11, 28.

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61 B. C., he writes Atticus that Archias has done nothing.[25] He says, too, that Thyillus, a Greek poet, has abandoned him, but that he will be content with the epigramatic lines which Atticus at his home has inscribed in his honor. He was not content for long. By March [26] of the next year, 60 B. C., he wrote himself in Greek an account of his consulship, which he sent to Atticus. He was then also working on an account in Latin, possibly something more than a translation of the Greek. As a third work Atticus is to expect a poem "that no form may be omitted by me in my own honor." [27] But Atticus need not fear that it will be too laudatory—it is to be historical. Meantime, Atticus had himself written [28] in Greek a monograph of Cicero's deeds in a plain, simple style which pleased Cicero, though it was in great contrast to his own style. From the same letter of June, 60 B. C., which gives this information, we learn that Cicero had sent his own commentary to Posidonius, the Stoic teacher at Rhodes, with a request to use it as material for a more elaborate work. Posidonius, however, delicately refused; Cicero's account was so excellent that he was deterred from attempting to rival it.[29]

No other attempts to procure outside literary assistance are known to the sources. But work progressed on the autobiographic poem; it seems to have been completed by December [30] of the same year 60. A work probably in three books, it had been written in the space of one year! Cicero probably entitled it *De Consulatu* or *De Consulatu Meo*.[31]

A few years later, after his return from exile, Cicero conceived the

[25] *Ad Att.*, I, 16, 15.

[26] *Ad Att.*, I, 19, 10.

[27] *Ad Att.*, I, 20, 6, May, 6. Some of this information is repeated; nothing is said of the poem, but the Latin commentary apparently has been completed.

[28] *Ad Att.*, II, 1, 1 and 2 (June, 60) and Nepos, *Atticus*, 18.

[29] This form of polite refusal was possibly a bit trite. Some years after this, Aulus Hirtius in his introduction to *Bellum Gallicum*, VIII, remarks that, though Caesar wrote his commentaries for the use of professional historians, their excellence had prevented other attempts. And Cicero (*Brutus*, 262) has a similar statement of Caesar's work.

[30] *Ad Att.*, II, 3, 4.

[31] *De Div.*, I, 11, 17. Others refer to it as *De Consulatu Suo* or use a slightly different phrase. *Schol. Bob.* on "Pro Plancio, 74; Plutarch, *Crassus*, 13; *Caesar*, 8.

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idea of having an account of this time of his troubles put into literary form. He wrote, possibly in May of 56, that shameless letter to L. Lucceius,[32] who was working on a general history of the period. Cicero requested a monograph, pointing out that the time from the beginning of the conspiracy to the return from exile would involve a neat *corpus* [33] of events with plenty of variety to attract the reader. Lucceius undertook it;[34] but, though he seems to have received notes (*commentarii*) on the events, which Cicero had promised him, he probably did not complete an account. Later in the same year a passing reference [35] in a letter to Atticus perhaps indicates that he himself is already at work on a poem. As of his consulship, so of his exile he would have narratives in prose and verse. It was perhaps the poem which, in 54, he sent, though as yet unfinished, to Caesar in Gaul for criticism.[36] In September, he was working on it, for he wrote Quintus that he planned to include in the second book a scene dealing with a council of the gods at which Apollo makes uncomplimentary remarks about two Roman *Imperatores,*[37] one of whom, L. Piso, had lost his army, the other, A. Gabinius, sold his! By December, 54, the poem was complete.[38] Cicero tells P. Lentulus Spinther in a letter: "I have written in verse three books *De Temporibus Meis,* which I would have sent you long since if I had thought that they should be published." And he promises to forward them if he can find a trustworthy person to deliver them. His anxiety about publishing the poem, he says, was not due to any element of harsh personal criticism in it, for criticism was sparing and mild, but due to fear that some friends might take offense if they had not been mentioned in it. Cicero does not mention the poem again in any later extant work.

The scope of the *De Temporibus* is not so certainly known as is that of the *De Consulatu.* The letter to Lentulus shows that it dealt with the period of the exile, certainly including the return. The reference to Piso and Gabinius would seem to indicate that the narrative may have been continued through 56/55. Possibly, bearing in mind Cicero's suggestion to Lucceius of a unit suitable

[32] *Ad Fam.*, V, 12.
[33] *Ad Fam.*, V, 12, 4.
[34] *Ad Att.*, IV, 6, 4.
[35] *Ad Att.*, IV, 8 b, 3.
[36] *Ad Q. F.*, II, 13, 2; II, 15, 5.
[37] *Ad Q. F.*, III, 1, 24.
[38] *Ad Fam.*, I, 9, 23.

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for a monograph, we may be justified in concluding that the new poem began with the year after the consulship. If so, the two poems together would cover at least the period he had hoped to have Lucceius adorn in historical prose. The title is generally taken to suggest the idea of troubles as well as experiences. Although we have a considerable body of information about this poem, no actual quotation from it is for certain known. Possibly Cicero did not publish it at all. To this point I shall briefly return.

Of the *De Consulatu* there are a number of lines extant. Its topic gives its scope, but it must have given at least a little of Cicero's biography before his consulship, for Servius [39] relates from it a tale of a miraculous flame rising from ashes, when Cicero's wife was sacrificing, which foretold that he would be elected consul that year. In the *De Divinatione* Cicero quotes a passage of seventy-eight lines, an address of the Muse Urania in the second book of his poem.[40] This is the sole passage of length from Cicero's original verse; hence modern study of his technique must rest largely upon it. But it is not the concern of this paper to go into this study.[41] Two other groups of three lines and a few single lines [42] are preserved. From these bits and from Cicero's comments, it is clear that the poem was highly patriotic in spirit and conservative in tendency, supporting the senatorial rule and the worship of Rome's gods. It was equipped, too, with all the epic

[39] Servius on Vergil, *Ecl.*, VIII, 106. E. Koch (*Ciceronis Carmina Historica* [1922], 16-17) thinks that this story is to be rejected since Plutarch (*Cicero*, 20) tells a similar tale which is dated in the year of the consulship. This does not appeal to me as an adequate reason for rejecting Servius's plain statement.

[40] *De Div.*, I, 11, 17.

[41] For a study of the technique of Cicero's verse see *e. g.* Tracy Peck in *TAPA.* (1897), 60-74; W. A. Merrill in *Univ. of Calif. Publications in Classical Philology*, V (1921), 143 ff., and VII (1924), 293 ff.; W. B. Sedgwick in *CR.* (1923), 115; M. Guendel, *De Ciceronis Poetae Arte* (1907). For other estimates of Cicero's "poetry," see also R. Y. Tyrrell, *Latin Poetry* (1895), 14; M. S. Dimsdale, *Latin Literature* (1915), 178; E. E. Sikes, *Roman Poetry* (1923), 32.

[42] See lines collected in Teubner text of Cicero's works, IV, 3, 396, ed. of C. F. W. Mueller, 1879. Also E. Koch, *op. cit.* Curiously in a mosaic excavated in Africa and published in *C. I. L.*, VIII, 27790, a fragment of a Ciceronian line is given. The mosaic depicts and labels a number of various kinds of ships and boats, using a list of terms possibly compiled by Varro or Suetonius.

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paraphernalia of gods in council in Olympus, and gods appearing to man on earth to direct him. Unfortunately it was also extremely egotistic. And this leads me to a study of the few lines by which Cicero's poetry is chiefly known and for which he was much criticised. I shall attempt a history of these lines, beginning with the first quotation.

Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi, which may be translated, *Let arms yield to the toga, and the laurel to civic praise.* The line is possibly the best known of all Cicero's verse—certainly one of the two best known. It is quoted by Cicero himself, and in reply to attack, for he felt more than once that he had to defend it. Cicero first uses the line in his senatorial speech *In Pisonem,*[43] delivered about the middle of the year 55 in reply to an attack by Piso made earlier in the same year.[44] Piso had asserted that ill will due not to acts of his consulship, but to this verse, had caused Cicero's exile. Piso had interpreted the half-line *Cedant arma togae* to mean that the greatest commander, Pompey, would yield precedence to the man of peace, Cicero. In denying this interpretation at some length and with violence, Cicero answered that he was speaking figuratively after the fashion of poets, and that the expression meant that war and tumult would give way to peace and quiet.[45] But in the second half-line, *concedat laurea laudi,* Piso had said that Cicero was "stuck." Cicero here does not explain his meaning, perhaps he could not, but answers by jumping into personalities and playing on the expression *laurea laudi* in connection with an act of Piso. He goes on to a general denial of the application of the verse as a whole to Pompey.[46]

[43] *In Pisonem,* 29, 72-30, 75.

[44] Asconius, on this speech 1 and 2. How, *Cicero Select Letters* (1926), II, 155.

[45] Servius, on the *Aeneid* I, 1, agrees: *arma pro bello . . . ut Cicero, cedant arma togae.* We do not know whether Servius made his own interpretation of the expression or followed Cicero's.

[46] This verse is sometimes incorrectly assigned to the poem *De Temporibus Suis, e. g.* by W. Miller's edition of the *De Officiis* (1913), marginal note on I, 22, 77; by Tyrrell, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero* (1886), II, 80. The *In Pisonem,* containing the passage just discussed, was delivered in 55, a year or more before Cicero's letter to Lentulus quoted above, in which Cicero said he had not yet published the poem. Besides, Piso had said that the line had caused Cicero's exile by arousing Pompey's

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In the famous *Second Philippic,*[47] published late in 44, Cicero again quotes and defends *Cedant arma togae.* Mark Antony in his attack on Cicero in the Senate[48] on September 19, had attempted to be humorous by quoting Cicero's verse against him, probably, I think, with a reference to Cicero's absence from Rome at this troubled time—the toga had yielded to arms. Cicero's defence of the line involves an allusion to Catiline's arms yielding to the toga. But he is very brief. To attempt humor does not become Antony. "I shall not reply further to you about the verses. I shall merely say briefly that you do not understand them nor any literature at all." And he adds in a general defence of all his writings (poetry obviously included) that they are of some benefit to youth and bring some glory on the Roman name.

A third time Cicero quotes the line in *De Officiis,* addressed to his son.[49] He hears that envious and base men are in the habit of attacking the line, which, however, contains an idea that is excellent.[50] Again, he shows that he had the Catilinarian conspiracy in mind when he wrote it. His further comment here would almost justify Piso's application of the line to a comparison between Pompey and Cicero, for he goes on to say: "What achievement in war then was ever so great? What triumph can be compared with that?"[51] Perhaps it is again significant for Piso's interpretation[52] that Cicero now goes on to relate how Pompey had stated publicly to him "that his third triumph would have been gained in vain, if he were not to have through my services to the state a place in which to celebrate it."

The common element in the contemporary criticism of the

ire; hence, it goes back at latest to 58 B. C. E. Koch, *op. cit.,* 15 and 69, has not seen this point. His argument for the publication of the *De Consulatu* after Cicero's return from exile apparently fails.

[47] *Phil.,* II, 8, 20.

[48] Schanz, p. 275; How, II, 464-466.

[49] I, 22, 77-78.

[50] Since Cicero wrote the *De Officiis* and the *Second Philippic* in the same period of the year 44, it may well be that he has Antony here in mind On dates of the two works, see Schanz., 275 and 373; How, II, 464-466.

[51] Translation of W. Miller in Loeb Series.

[52] E. Koch, *op. cit.,* 43, is perhaps correct in asserting that Cicero in the *De Officiis,* after Pompey's death, is admitting that he had a comparison of Pompey with himself in mind—an admission he would not make in his speech *In Pisonem* in Pompey's lifetime.

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verse was obviously an attack on its display of Cicero's egotism. His feeling of satisfaction at thwarting the plans of Catiline without any bloodshed in Rome, justifiable enough, was only too often expressed in public, and when put into a verse which easily allowed the thought of a slighting reference to Pompey, criticism was inevitable and might have been expected. But, I think, in palliation it may be said that Cicero was possibly trying to match a passage from his favorite Ennius, *Annals,* Book VIII, where the poet says that when war comes, " Wisdom is driven from the midst, the state is directed by force; the good orator is scorned, the crude soldier is loved." [53] Cicero quotes from the very passage in his *Pro Murena,* delivered late in the year of his consulship. Following Ennius's idea, Cicero goes on to comment,[54] " *Cedat* [note the word] . . . *forum castris, otium militiae, stilus gladio, umbra soli,*" in poking fun at his jurist friend, Sulpicius Rufus—the very opposite of the line that he later wrote. Further on in the speech he again refers to the contrast between *forum* and *militia.*[55] Once more in his speech *Ad Quirites* on his return from exile, and of course after he had published the poem, he draws a contrast between old Marius, who punished his enemies by force of arms, and himself, who will use his weapon of speech against his enemies, since for the art of fighting there is a place in war, but for oratory in peace.[56]

Possibly, from Cicero's lifetime there is one more quotation of the line. It appears in the Pseudo-Sallust *Invective.* This brief but violent attack upon Cicero has been attributed in recent years to Piso and to Sallust. In 1898 papers by R. Reitzenstein and E. Schwartz [57] opened the question of the genunineness of this work. Both very properly showed that it seemed, from its various allusions to events, to fit very well in the year 54. Schwartz assigned it to Piso because it is known that Piso had published in that year an attack upon Cicero, which was evidently a retort to

[53] Pellitur e medio sapientia vi geritur res, Spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles amatur. See ed. of Miss E. M. Stewart, Cambridge, 1925, bk. VIII, fr. 2.

[54] *Pro Murena,* 14, 30.

[55] *Pro Murena,* 19, 41.

[56] *Post Reditum ad Quirites,* 8, 20.

[57] *Hermes,* XXXIII (1898), 87-101; *Hermes,* XXXIII (1898), 101-108.

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Cicero's reply in the Senate against him.[58] This correspondence in time is the only good argument for the attribution to Piso. However, it has been accepted by some: by Gerke-Norden,[59] by Edward Meyer,[60] and by Lehman-Haupt.[61] A. Kurfess who seems to be at present the leading student of this problem, thinks very properly that the attribution to Piso should now be given up.[62] It seems clear to me that the opening of the *Invective,* in which the author proposes to answer an attack made upon him by Cicero (which must be the *In Pisonem* if Piso is the writer), does not read at all as there were any realization that the *In Pisonem* was itself an answer to an earlier attack by Piso. Furthermore, the *Invective* does not apply our line *Cedant arma togae* to Pompey, as Piso had effectively done, nor does it, through Piso did, taunt Cicero with the disgrace of his exile.[63]

The attribution of the *Invective* to Sallust has much in its favor. It has come down in manuscript with Sallust's and Cicero's works, and manuscripts as old as the tenth, or even ninth, centuries. It is ascribed to Sallust by the Pseudo-Ciceronian attack upon Sallust, with which it is paired in the manuscript. But of much greater significance is the fact that Quintilian assigns it to Sallust. He quotes it twice[64] and his quotations must be accepted as good evidence that he knew it in its present form. That is to say, his quotations tend to deny any argument that would accept the existing *Invective* as a condensed form of a longer, genuine original. Additional support of this position is found in the argument that Quintilian probably got several of his quotations from Cicero's verse at second hand from this work. I shall return to this point. To one scholar, E. Bonnell,[65] a good many years ago, it seemed

[58] *Ad Q. F.*, III, i, 11.

[59] *Einleitung* (1910), I, 548.

[60] See under previous note, and in *Caesars Monarchie,* 2nd ed. (1919), 163 ff.

[61] *Klio* (1923), pp. 104-106. This study I have not seen. He thinks it worked out by Piso and Sallust together.

[62] *Jahresbericht,* 192, (1922), 47.

[63] *In Pisonem,* 14, 31.

[64] *Quint.*, IV, 1, 68; IX, 3, 89. H. E. Butler in his translation of the first passage, (Loeb, 1921), makes a slip, rendering as if the Pseudo-Sallust was delivered before a judge. It is supposedly a speech made in the Senate, as its first chapter shows. [65] *Quintilian,* Teubner text, 1854.

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impossible that Quintilian could have thought the *Invective* by Sallust; therefore in his Teubner edition he bracketed the first quotation and omitted the second! But such an operation only mutilates and does not cure.

Kurfess, largely because of Quintilian's opinion and because the *Invective* is not vague and general, but fits the events of the year 54, thinks it genuine, and by Sallust—a youthful work.[66] He finds only one objection in any sense valid to placing the work in 54, and that is that Cicero is spoken of as living in the house he bought of Crassus,[67] which actually had been destroyed at the time of his exile.[68] However, he would adjust this difficulty by emending the present tense *habites* to the imperfect *habitares,* for which he claims manuscript authority. But Kurfess has apparently overlooked the reading of the passage in Pseudo-Cicero's reply to the *Invective,* which gives *habitet,* showing that its author read a present in the *Invective.* This Pseudo-Cicero work is ancient, though perhaps of a rather late date. A better way to surmount the difficulty would be to realize that Sallust, if it be he, had forgotten that the Crassus house had been destroyed. Or, it may be argued that, since Cicero regained the selfsame site and rebuilt, a statement that he is living in Crassus's house is not erroneous.

Recently A. Klotz [69] has argued against the attribution to Sallust and to the year 54. He points out a passage in the *Invective* which is really the same as a passage in the *Letter to Caesar on the State,*[70] a work attributed to Sallust, which in any case cannot have been written before the period of the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar. Klotz claims that the passage in the *Invective* is copied from the other, and that therefore the *Invective* is to be dated much later than 54. A counter claim that the *Letter* may copy the *Invective* is about as valid.

It does not seem at all impossible that the *Invective* is a product of the year of 54, perhaps from the pen of Sallust. At all events,

[66] *Jahresbericht,* 192, (1922), p. 60 and ref.

[67] *Phil. Woch.,* 1922, sp. 935-936.

[68] Zeilinski (*Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte,* 3rd ed., 1912, 281) thinks this difficulty insurmountable, and concludes the work false though derived from some good source.

[69] *Phil. Woch.,* 1923, sp. 261-263.

[70] *Invective,* III, 5; *Epistula ad Caesarem Senem,* I, 2.

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it is a genuinely Roman product, published before Quintilian's time. It is, then, the earliest extant work, except for Cicero's own, to quote *Cedant arma togae.*

To the history of that line we may now return. The writer of the *Invective* gives the line in full, but he, or possibly some one from whom he may borrow, very ingeniously altered the text by substituting *linguae* for *laudi,* so making the line read, *Let arms yield to the toga, and the laurel to the tongue.* This sort of parody was known to Roman writers. Cicero himself notices it in a passage of the *De Oratore* [71] which, if chronological considerations would permit, might almost lead one to think that Cicero had this fling at himself in mind. The substitution of *linguae* is very clever. It brings out the contrast between the man of speech and the man of war found in the line of Ennius which I have quoted even better than Cicero's original line. It also, quite in keeping with Ennius's method and to an extent with Cicero's, makes a kind of rhyme between the final word of the verse and the word which ends at the caesura—*togae* and *linguae.*[72]

It seems rather odd that in his comment on the line the writer of the *Invective* makes no allusion to the substituted word. Did he then borrow it, and not know that his borrowed reading was not the original? If this is so, some slight suspicion of the genuineness of the *Invective* may be justified. Curiously enough, *linguae* is the reading, too, in Quintilian's quotation, which, however, is probably based on the *Invective,* as I shall show. Again, Plutarch somewhere picked up the same reading, for his translation of the line gives γλώττῃ.[73] The author of the *Laus Pisonis,* a poem probably of Nero's age, has plainly rewritten Cicero's line in the words (lines 35 and 36):

> Sic etiam magno iam tunc Cicerone iubente
> Laurea facundis, cesserunt arma togatis.

Laurea facundis apparently, if not necessarily, corresponds to *laurea linguae.*[74] Finally Pliny the Elder in an apostrophe to

[71] *De Oratore,* II, 64, 257.

[72] *Cf.* below the comment on the line *O fortunatam* and its rhyme.

[73] Plutarch, *Comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero,* II, 1.

[74] See Teuffel II, 274-275. The reference to the line in *Laus Pisonis* I owe to E. Koch, *op. cit.,* 44. He gives also references to Lucan and

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Cicero seems to echo this reading: "*Salve . . . . primus in toga triumphum linguaeque lauream merite.*" [75]

So much evidence might easily lead to the adoption of *linguae* as the reading of Cicero himself if the manuscript readings of the *De Officiis* and the *In Pisonem* quoted above were not decisively for the word *laudi*. In addition, Cicero's comment on the line in the *In Pisonem* [76] establishes the reading *laudi*.[77]

Since the assigning of the date of composition of the *Invective* to the year 54 is not accepted as certain in this paper, it can not be determined with certainty when this parody originated. P. Patzold [78] some years ago suggested that the *Invective* may have been drawn largely from Antony's attack upon Cicero, which Cicero answered in the *Second Philippic*, and that Antony's facetiousness, alluded to in the same speech, consisted in the alteration of the line to read *linguae*. But this was little more than a guess. Above I have given a different interpretation: that Antony, applying Cicero's line to its author, had declared that the toga had yielded to arms. In the *De Officiis* we have seen that Cicero made a general defence of this verse against his critics, men *improbi* and *invidi*, but he gives no hint that he had heard of this parody. Possibly he considered it unsuitable or *infra dig.* to discuss it. But also possibly he had not heard of it; and if not, it did not exist when he wrote the *De Officiis* in 44. If it had been published ten years before, in 54, in a pamphlet attacking him, he would have read it. There may be in this some indication that the *Invective* was not published in Cicero's lifetime. At any rate, it seems reasonably sure that Piso in his attack on Cicero did not use the parody, for Cicero's rather lengthy reply on the verse does not

to Cornelius Severus which can hardly be proved to have any relation to the Ciceronian verse.

[75] Pliny, *N. H.*, VII, 30 (31), 117. Perhaps one may conclude that Pliny is also approving of the Ciceronian verse. If so, he is the exception.

[76] *In Pisonem*, 30, 74. In the explanatory passage of the *De Officiis* (XXII, 77-78) Cicero's allusion to Pompey as *vir abundans bellicis laudibus* may be a reflection of *laudi* in our verse. In *Ad Familiares* XV, 6, 1, addressed to Cato in 50, Cicero's remark, *quam lauream cum tua laudatione conferrem?* may easily be an echo of the verse.

[77] *Cf.* E, Koch, *op. cit.*, 45.

[78] *De Ciceronis Obtrectatoribus*, Leipzig, 1911, 38-40.

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know it. On the contrary Cicero's play with the *laudi*[79] is almost certain proof that Piso had also so quoted it.

Cedant arma togae seems to have elicited only one sort of criticism, that aimed at Cicero's excessive egotism and his boasting. The history of the other most famous line of Cicero differs in this respect. *O fortunatam natam me consule Roman,* "*O fortunate Rome born in my consulship,*" is first quoted in the *Invective.* Cicero never openly defends it or quotes it. One is inclined to wonder whether he was somewhat ashamed of the egotism shown by it. Once, however, Cicero seems to allude to this line in his defence of Flaccus:[80] "O, ye Nones of December of my consulship! A day which I may call truly the birthday of this city, or assuredly its day of safety." The likeness to his verse is on the surface in the thought and in the phrases *me consule* and *natalem huius urbis.*[81] The speech, moveover, was delivered only the year after the completion of his poem. There may be other allusions to the poem lost in the same section of the speech.

To an Italian scholar, C. Pascal, the line with its unfortunate jingle *fortunatam natam* seems impossible in the mouth of Cicero.[82] He agrees with Pascoli that the *natam* is a malicious substitution probably made by the writer of the *Invective.* Pascoli had suggested that the original line might have been spoken by the muse Urania to Cicero: *O fortunatam, Tulli, te consule Romam.*[83] This suggestion cannot be proved, of course, nor can it be disproved except by noting that several writers quote the line and all in the same form, as will be shown. But Pascal waves this argument aside by the claim, which may be true, that all derive the line from the *Invective.* Yet Pascal does not agree with Pascoli on the wording of the line. He believes that in the Pseudo-Ciceronian

[79] *In Pisonem,* 30, 74.

[80] *Pro Flacco,* 40, 102. See J. E. Mayor's *Juvenal* (ed. of 1878), note on satire X, 122.

[81] In the same paragraph Cicero refers to the "conspirators called to sword and flame" (*ad ferrum et flammam*), which, though a common phrase, is found used in the selfsame connection in a verse of the *De Consulatu,* "and destruction prepared for the fatherland by flame and sword" (*flamma ferroque*).

[82] C. Pascal, *Scritti Varii,* 1920, 105-107 (a reprint from *Athenaeum* of July, 1916).

[83] *Epos,* 1911, p. 68—the reference is from Pascal's paper.

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reply to the *Invective* we are given a hint of the original form of the line, for a partial quotation there gives, *fortunatam me consule Romam.*[84] Pascal accepts this as the original with the loss of a dactyl and the exclamatory *O* at the beginning of the verse. He thinks the *natam* introduced in the *Invective* to raise a laugh at Cicero's expense, and that it carries with it a reference to the cognomen *Romulus* also attributed to Cicero in the *Invective* by the phrase—a rather good one—*Romule Arpinas, "O Romulus of Arpinum!"*[85] But Pascal's objection to the line as we have it can be met, and his own substitute can be criticised. In the first place, to begin a Hexameter line with the exclamatory *O* and some form of *fortunatus* was apparently rather common in Latin, as it was to begin with *fortunatus* itself. In Ennius the one instance to be found by Vahlen's index begins *O fortunatum.*[86] Merguet's lexicon to Vergil supplies a number of instances of which those most like our Ciceronian line are, *O fortunatae gentes . . .* and *O fortunatos nimium . . .* and *O fortunati . . .* There is, too, a line beginning *Et fortunatam.*[87] . . . Besides these instances, Vergil begins some six lines with *fortunatus* in some case form. Twice he uses *fortunatus* in the last half of a verse, but never in the position to which Pascal would assign Cicero's *fortunatam.* The evidence here presented, while only illustrative, and not exhaustive, seems to indicate a decided preference for the position of *fortunatus.*

Again jingles in verse were rather common in Cicero's day and before. Cicero himself quotes from Ennius, and with approval, some lines which we must consider rather poor:[88]

> **Haec omnia vidi inflammari,**
> **Priamo vi vitam evitari,**
> **Iovis aram sanguine turpari.**

And Cicero's comment is, *Praeclarum carmen.* Just above this passage, with reference to lines which contain such expressions as *arce et urbe orba sum* and *fama flamma deflagrata* and *tectis caelatis, laqueatis,* Cicero has given unqualified praise of his

[84] Pseudo-Cicero, *In Sallustium,* II, 7.
[85] *Invective,* IV, 7.
[86] I. Vahlen, *Ennius, Annales* I, 108.
[87] *Aen.,* XI, 252; *Georg.,* II, 458; *Ecl.,* VI, 45; *Aen.,* I, 437.
[88] *Tusculan Disputations,* III, 19, 45; also quoted in I, 35, 85.

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favorite Ennius, *O poetam egregium!* Cicero himself in the *De Consulatu* was guilty, for he ends five successive Hexameter lines in this fashion: *monebant, ferebant, iubebant, vereri, teneri.*[89] The passage made Norden [90] say that he knew of no other Latin poet who would have ventured the like.

If we now turn to the scansion of the line itself—*O fortunatam natam me consule Romam*—it is obvious that the *fortunatam* ends at the caesural pause, and that it makes a rhyme with *Romam,* which ends the verse. This is not accidental. In Ennius, of whom Cicero was fond, the device was used repeatedly. A few examples from the *Annales* may be given: [91]

> Sic expectabat populus atque ore timebat
> Rebus, utri magni victoria sit data regni.

These are successive lines. Again:

> Non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes,[92] and
> Quem nemo ferro potuit superare nec auro.[93]

And Cicero, of course, knew these lines. Moreover, Cicero does the thing himself:

> Vertitur et totum conlustrat lumine mundum;
> Omnia fixa tuus glomerans determinat annus;
> Martia, quae parvos Mavortis semine natos.

The lines are from the one long extant passage of the *De Consulatu.*[94]

More striking illustrations appear in his *Phaenomena:*

> Haec vero parva est, sed nautis usus in hac est;
> Et magis horrisonis Aquilonis tangitur alis;
> Exin semotam procul in tutoque locatam.
> Nam non longinquum spatium labere divinum.

It may be worth while pointing out that in the last line quoted

[89] C. F. W. Mueller, *Cicero* (Teubner, 1879), IV, 400, lines 50-54.
[90] E. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* (1909), 839.
[91] Vahlen, *Ennius, Annales,* I, 87 and 88.
[92] *Op. cit.,* VI, 195.
[93] *Op. cit.,* XII, 373.
[94] C. F. W. Mueller, *Cicero* (Teubner, 1879), IV, 398, lines 2, 35, and 43.
[95] *Op. cit.,* 360 ff., lines 43, 247, 383, and 297.

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the endings in *um* precisely matched in number and metrical position the endings in *am* in the line under discussion.[96]

There seems to be no good reason to deny Ciceronian authorship to the line *O fortunatam,* simply because of its unfortunate assonances. Nor can Pascal's opinion of a line from Horace—interesting though the parallel is—be any objection. Horace, in *Epistles,* II, 1, 256, addressed to Augustus, wrote: *Et Formidatam Parthis te principe Romam.* The rather striking likeness to our line of Cicero has made Pascal think that Horace could not have composed this line if Cicero's line had been in its present ridiculous form. His idea seems to be that Horace would have been insulting Augustus, by recalling Cicero's jingle, rather than complimenting him. But this is purely subjective. From the very nature of the Hexameter line, odd likenesses may now and then occur quite by chance. *Principe* makes a good dactyl for the fifth foot, and *te principe* cannot have been a very uncommon phrase. *Formidatam* offers a convenient succession of long syllables to support the dignity of the slow-moving line.

It is possible that the objectionable *natam* has slipped into the Ciceronian line by dittography, a copyist's writing twice the last part of *fortunatam.* But this is made somewhat improbable by the fact that several works which quotee the line, though they may or may not derive from the *Invective,* are fairly close to the time of its composition. Besides we have seen that the genius of the Hexameter of Republican days permitted jingles; there is no need to doubt the genuineness of the text-reading.

The writer of the *Invective* has no criticism of the form or sound of this verse. His aim is directed at its meaning, and he again attacks Cicero for his egotism, representing him as a tyrant in his consulship, as in censuring *cedant arma togae* he suggests that between Cicero and Sulla there was no difference but in title. It is only when we come down to writers of the Empire that we can find criticism of the jingle. Quintilian is the first.[97] "Care

[96] Pearson and Strong, *Juvenal* (1892), 190, note on Satire X, 122, quite miss the point in their statement "jingles . . . when employed in didactic or narrative poetry, had a comical effect, as Horace's *ridiculus mus.*" They apparently had not noticed this characteristic in Ennius's *Annals* and in Cicero's verse.

[97] Quintilian (Loeb ed. 1922, by H. E. Butler), IX, 4, 41.

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must be taken," he says, "that the last syllables of one word are not identical with the opening syllables of the next." He illustrated the fault with *O fortunatam natam* and with *Res mihi invisae visae sunt Brute*, which he attributes to a letter of Cicero.

The best explanation of Cicero's "fault" is, I believe, to be found in a passage from Seneca luckily preserved in the scrap-book of Aulus Gellius,[98] who is amusingly indignant at Seneca for venturing to criticise Cicero and Ennius. Seneca quotes a few Hexameters of Ennius lauding old Cethegus, one of the lines incidentally involving a middle and end rhyme. He was amazed that men of high standing in literature could praise these ridiculous lines as excellent and, specifically, that Cicero placed them among the good lines of Ennius. "But," he says, "I don't wonder that there was a man to write these verses, when there was a man to praise them." Then he goes on to criticise some words used by Cicero, who had derived them from his study of Ennius—*breviloquentia* is one of them. And he concludes: "This was not a fault of Cicero, but of the age; it was inevitable that such words be used, since such words were read." Seneca seems to have realized, what Quintilian and some later critics may not, that between Cicero's age and his own had come the Augustan age with all its advances in literary forms, in taste, and technique. Quintilian surely was measuring Cicero's line by the standards of Augustan poetry.

An incidental question here arises as to whether Quintilian was acquainted with Cicero's verse at first hand. An answer to the question might throw some light upon Quintilian's method of composition. Pascal thinks that he quoted *Cedant arma togae* and *O fortunatam* from the *Invective*. Off hand one would say that Quintilian must have known Cicero's poems, for he was a student and admirer of Cicero's works and quoted him an enormous number of times. Besides he quotes an elegiac couplet from some lost and otherwise unknown poem by Cicero.[99] We have already noticed his criticism of *O fortunatam*. In Book XI, 1, 24, occurs the most significant paragraph·

[98] Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, XII, 2. Gellius attributes his quotations from Seneca to the *Epistulae Morales*, book 22, addressed to Lucilius.

[99] *Quintilian*, VIII, 6, 73.

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I wish that he had spared us in his poems, which malicious men have not ceased criticising: "Let arms yield to the toga, and the laurel yield to the tongue"; and "O fortunate Rome born in my consulship"; and "that Jupiter by whom he is called into the assembly of the gods"; and "Minerva who taught him the arts"; lines which he had permitted himself following certain works of Greeks as precedents.[100]

Neither of the last two quotations makes a Hexameter but both style and content, as well as Quintilian's method of bringing them in here, indicates well enough that they are expressions, perhaps a little recast, from Cicero's poetry.[101] They would suit very well with what is known of the *De Consulatu.* In that poem Calliope and Urania gave him advice, and Jupiter delivered a speech.[102] Now just these lines are in the *Invective,* which quotes the two famous verses in full and follows with partial quotations of the other two in the writer's own words.[103] Above we have seen that Quin-

[100] Text: *In carminibus utinam peperoisset, quae non desierunt carpere maligni: Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae; et O fortunatam natam me consule Romam; et Iovem illum, a quo in concilium deorum advocatur; et Minervam, quae artes eum edocuit; quae sibi ille secutus quaedam Graecorum exempla permiserat.* The *Invective,* II, 3, states: *Cicero se dicit in concilio deorum immortalium fuisse, inde missum huic urbi civibusque custodem.* This, I think, must be an allusion to the *De Consulatu* and to the same passage referred to in cap. IV, 7, and by Quintilian in the section discussed. J. C. Rolfe (*Sallust,* Loeb, 1921, 495) thinks it "a sarcastic allusion to Cicero's recognition of the help of the gods; *e. g., In Cat.* 2, 13, 29, etc." The more definite reference to Cicero's epic, in which there was some such scene, is preferable.

[101] In *De Domo,* 34, 92 (57 B. C.) Clodius seems to have referred to Cicero's allusions to the gods in the verse: *Inducis etiam sermonem . . . me dicere solere, esse me Iovem, eundemque dictitare Minervam esse sororem meam.* Cicero denies this flatly, of course. Petzold (*op. cit.,* 19) thinks there is here an allusion to Cicero's verse.

[102] *De Div.,* I, 11, 17; *Ad Q. F.,* II, 7, 1; *Ad Att.,* II, 3, 3.

[103] The *Invective,* IV, 7, adds a fifth quotation, but in prose, an echo of Cicero's boast made in the peroration of the *Post Reditum in Senatu,* 15, 39, which was delivered in 57 immediately after the return from exile. The *Invective* states: *Italia exsulem humeris suis reportavit.* The *Post Reditum* gives: *me . . . Italia cuncta paene suis umeris reportavit.* Parenthetically, we may deduce from an anecdote in Macrobius, II, 3, 5, that Vatinius was the first man to hit at Cicero for this boast—and he did it in a rather vulgar way, evidently interrupting Cicero's speech with, *Unde ergo tibi varices?* H. Jordan in *Hermes,* 11 (1876), 318, would argue that, since this quotation in the *Invective* is certainly from a work

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tilian knew the *Invective.* In the passage under consideration he not only uses the same four quotations, but he even has the parodying *linguae* for *laudi* in the line *Cedant arma togae.* It seems certain, then, that Quintilian's most important passage on Cicero's verse rests on the *Invective.* Quintilian's references to lines of Jupiter and Minerva are not, however, in wording the same as those in the *Invective;* but read, I think, as if nearer the original verses.[104] His comment about Cicero's Greek precedents is not in the *Invective.* It may then be admitted that Quintilian knew Cicero's verse at first-hand, while it can hardly be denied that the *Invective* gave him conveniently a group of lines called from Cicero's verse to show his egotism. It is again egotism, and not style, that Quintilian attacks in this passage. I can, then, from this study hardly avoid the conclusion that Quintilian was not very much at home in Cicero's poetry—certainly not as he was in his prose.

Juvenal is the last Roman man of letters to quote the *O fortunatam*—we may except the late grammarian Diomedes, who may be

in prose, the other two, of Jupiter and Minerva, must also be from some prose work and that Quintilian was mistaken in thinking them verse. I have already given evidence enough to deny this opinion. In relation to the quoting of this remark there is, however, an interesting possibility. The *Invective* quotes verses from Cicero's *De Consulatu,* but when it comes to a later stage of his career, it quotes from an oration this boast of his return. If this *Invective* is a late work, a reference to Cicero's other autobiographic poem, *De Temporibus,* might have been expected; but we do not get it. Now a copy of the *De Temporibus* late in 54 was promised to Lentulus (*Ad Fam.,* I, 9, 23, and see above) with a remark that shows that it had not yet been published. We cannot know, but it is possible that by the sending of the poem to Lentulus it got before the public. The *Invective,* as we have seen, is dated in the year 54 by many scholars, evidently before the publication of the *De Temporibus.* The failure of the writer to quote the *De Temporibus* then, substituting, so to speak, a quotation from an oration on the same point that the *De Temporibus* must have dwelt on, is rather in favor of the dating of the *Invective* in 54. If we only knew whether Cicero ever published the *De Temporibus* we might stress the point. E. Koch (*op. cit.,* 55) thinks it probable that the quotation in the *Invective* concerned with Italy's carrying Cicero back on her shoulders is from the poem, but he can give no proof.

[104] For Quintilian's lines, see note above; the *Invective* (IV, 7) gives: *. . . quem Minerva omnis artis edocuit, Iuppiter optimus maximus in concilio deorum admisit.*

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copying Quintilian.[105] In his great tenth satire on the vanity of ambition, Juvenal gives the line in full.[106] Where did he get it? We do not know. Pascal considers the allusion to Cicero as *Novus Arpinas* in another satire of Juvenal's,[107] coupled with a mention of Cicero's title *pater patriae,* a proof that Juvenal had read the *Invective* with its striking phrase *Romule Arpinas.* But this is hardly susceptible of proof. Juvenal's comment on the *O fortunatam* is worth quoting; it shows that he, like Quintilian, would condemn the line as poor poetry:

> Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
> Omnia dixisset. . . .

"He could have scorned the swords of Antony, if he had spoken everything like this!"

Judging by the small number of quotations and references to Cicero's poems, they were little read. The cause for this may be found in the fact that even in Cicero's life time they were harshly criticised. The unfavorable opinion directed at certain lines by the writer of the Pseudo-Sallust *Invective* is accepted by Quintilian, and, with references to the line *O fortunatam,* is developed by the application of criticism based on the standards of Augustan verse. But neither Quintilian nor Juvenal quotes any other lines. It would appear that Cicero, the poet, was known to the Empire only by his bad lines, and by them was judged and condemned.

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[105] In Keil, II, 466, 1. Erasmus was perhaps the first modern to quote the line. He has it in his *Ciceronianus,* and he got it obviously from Quintilian, for he quotes with it the objectionable *invisae visae* of *Quint.,* IX, 4, 41, discussed above. See I. Scott, *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero,* 1910, 45. Reference has already been made to the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Invective* against Sallust. It is of uncertain date and of little independent value, as it is obviously based on the *Invective* against Cicero.

[106] Juvenal, *Satires,* X, 122.

[107] *Satires,* VIII, 237 ff.

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SPENSER'S REASON FOR REJECTING THE CANTOS OF MUTABILITY.

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Many readers of Spenser have wondered whether the Cantos of Mutability were designed as a part of *The Faerie Queene*, and, if so, for what division; and whether they present a fragment of his youthful or of his mature philosophy. They may have been circulated in manuscript before Spenser's death;[1] but, so far as is known, they made their first appearance in print in the 1609 Folio of *The Faerie Queene* published by Matthew Lownes, who was perhaps then projecting his complete edition of Spenser's poems. The heading states that the cantos, "both for Forme and Matter, appeare to be parcell of some following Booke of the Faerie Queene, under the Legend of *Constancie*." Grosart originally agreed with this judgment as to their being part of *The Faerie Queene*, as is seen in the first volume of his *Complete Works* of Spenser; but in the eighth volume he committed himself to the view that the Mutability cantos have an independence and com-

[1] F. I. Carpenter, in *A Reference Guide to Spenser*, p. 164, notes that Samuel Brandon's *The Virtuous Octavia*, 1598 (Malone Society Reprints, 1909), is, at lines 895 ff., a "close analogue to the Mutability Cantos," and inquires, "Did Brandon know them in MS. before 1598?" The passage, of about fifteen lines, beginning, "Nature itself dooth most delight in change," does not seem to me to presuppose a sight of Spenser's work. It is a justification of lasciviousness by the licentious Sylvia, and is not only contrary to the attitude toward such change of Nature as is described by Spenser in somewhat similar (but very conventional) manner, but also quite aside from his conception of constancy in the Cantos of Mutability, which has nothing to do with steadfastness in love, or purity, or chastity.

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pleteness that entitles them to be regarded as a separate production. They were published by Child with the query "Book VII?" And they follow Book VI in both J. C. Smith's critical text of *The Faerie Queene* (1909-10) and Smith and de Sélincourt's one-volume Oxford edition of the Works in 1924. Mr. Smith frankly accepts the Mutability cantos as belonging to a projected third part:

> These two cantos, with two stanzas of a third, are all that remain of the third part of *The Faerie Queene*. Whether Spenser wrote more is unknown. But the fact that the two cantos are numbered VI and VII makes it fairly certain that he had at least sketched the whole Seventh Book. I cannot accept the view that these cantos are an independent poem in the sense that they were not designed to form part of *F. Q.* The lines (VII, vi, 37)—
>
> > And were it not ill fitting for this file,
> > To sing of hilles and woods, mongst warres and Knights—
>
> show clearly that they were so designed. . . . The view that these cantos are spurious is unworthy of serious discussion."[2]

I shall try to show in this paper that the Mutability cantos were certainly intended as part of a book in *The Faerie Queene;* that the theme of the book was probably to have been English affairs in Ireland; that this early version of part of a book on Ireland was deliberately rejected by Spenser because he sent it to Harvey for criticism and Harvey and a circle of Cambridge friends to whom he read it criticised it severely; that Spenser conserved a good part of the matter of Mutability in his published works, using a bit of it for the preface to a new book on Irish affairs (Book V) and other bits elsewhere in the early poems with a changed emphasis and tone which may be traceable to Harvey's criticism. Most significant, perhaps, for a study of Spenser's philosophy of life

[2] Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, (1909), p. xv. Opposed to this view are the theories of T. J. Wise (in his edition of *The Faerie Queene*, 1897, I, lxxix), who regards the cantos as a fragment of a "second projected or attempted epic"; and of S. Evans (*Macmillan's Magazine*, XLII (1880), 145-51, who believes that the six books carry out Spenser's whole intention, and that Mutability is separate, being a reaction on Bruno. This latter idea has been discussed in the *Quarterly Review*, CXCVI (1902), 483-508; by Oliver Elton in *Modern Studies* (1907), pp. 30 ff., and incidentally by Miss Winstanley and Professor Greenlaw in articles on Spenser's sources.

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is the date of composition of the Mutability cantos, which must thus be placed at 1579-1580.

To Mr. J. C. Smith's argument that the Mutability cantos belong to *The Faerie Queene* because of a reference to the "warres and knightes" which form the theme of the other parts but not of Mutability, we may add these points: Spenser's invocation in Mutability to Clio, the epic Muse; his references to his style, which resemble those in which he is wont to refer to the epic style of *The Faerie Queene;* and the unfolding of the lineage of Mutability (canto vi, stanza 2),

> As I have found it registered of old,
> In Faery Land mongst records permanent.

The general character of narration and description, the philosophic ideas, the Irish setting in both cantos (on Arlo Hill), the prominence of Cynthia, the labeling of the legend by a virtue (Constancy), the numbering of the cantos as if in the midst of a larger work, the use of *The Faerie Queene* stanza, all tend to confirm one's impression of an original intention to incorporate this bit somewhere in *The Faerie Queene.* But it is useless to attempt to fit it back into any of the cantos as they now stand. It will not fit anywhere; hence the usual tendency to place it after the sixth book and to regard it as an imperfect seventh book, composed late in the poet's career.

But, unless Mr. E. J. L. Scott, who edited Harvey's *Letter-Book* for the Camden Society in 1894, was greatly mistaken in his dating of the contents,[3] the Mutability cantos were among the parcels of *The Faerie Queene* sent to Harvey for criticism at least as early as 1580, and possibly were of those parts which Spenser asked, in his letter dated "Quarto Nonas Aprilis, 1580," to have sent back at once:

> I wil in hande forthwith with my Faery Queene, whyche I praye you hartily send me with al expedition: and your frendly Letters, and long expected Judgement wythal, whyche let not be shorte, but in all pointes suche, as you ordinarilye use, and I extraordinarilye desire.[4]

In the same series of letters published at Harvey's instigation in

[3] See his remarks in the preface, pp. x-xi, and his title-page and index.

[4] *Works* (Oxford Standard Authors, 1924), p. 612; reprinted from the letters of 1580 published by Bynneman for Harvey. Subsequent references to Works of Spenser in this article are to this edition of 1924.

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1580 is the often quoted judgment of Harvey upon *The Faerie Queene:*

> In good faith I had once againe nigh forgotten your Faerie Queene: howbeit by good chaunce, I haue nowe sent hir home at the laste, neither in better nor worse case, than I founde hir. And must you of necessitie haue my Iudgement of hir indeede? To be plaine, I am voyde of al iudgement, if your Nine Comoedies, wherunto, in imitation of Herodotus, you giue the names of the Nine Muses (and in one mans fansie[5] not unworthily) come not neerer Ariostoes Comoedies, eyther for the finenesse of plausible Elocution, or the rarenesse of Poetical Inuention, than that Eluish Queene doth to his Orlando Furioso, which notwithstanding, you will needes seeme to emulate, and hope to ouergo, as you flatly professed your self in one of your last Letters. . . . If so be the Faerye Queene be fairer in your eie than the Nine Muses, and Hobgoblin runne away with the Garland from Apollo: Marke what I saye, and yet I will not say that I thought, but there an End for this once, and fare you well, till God or some good Aungell putte you in a better minde.[6]

This suggests that a considerable amount of manuscript material had been submitted to Harvey, but the works he names may not all have gone to him at one time. This letter of April, 1580, must have been very near in date to a draft of a long, though apparently unfinished, epistle from Harvey to Spenser criticising in great detail some of his poetic work just submitted. This criticism covers pages eighty-two to eighty-eight of the *Letter-Book* of Harvey, edited for the Camden Society, and the letter containing it is indexed as of the year 1579. It is one of a group of letters from Harvey to Spenser, the first of which, at folio 33 b of the original letter-book, is dated on the tenth of a summer month of 1579. The letter of criticism with which we are concerned is followed by a letter from William Fulke to the Fellows of Pembroke Hall, dated August 22, 1578, but there is nothing to show how long after the writing by Doctor Fulke the letter was copied by Harvey in his note-book. Fulke's letter is followed by a title-page for the proposed edition of Harvey's *Verlayes,* with the date

[5] I shall try to show that Spenser had sent his *Tears of the Muses* in *some* form to Harvey before 1580. If that is true, perhaps Harvey was flattered by Spenser's following the same order of lamentations of Muses as his own in *Musarum Lachrymae*, 1578. Though two of Spenser's Muses are unnamed in the headings, they are easily identified as Melpomene (the second), and Calliope (the seventh).

[6] *Works of Spenser*, p. 628.

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August 1, 1580. It will be remembered that the note-book begins with a letter on this same publishing hoax (the tenth of a summer month of 1579), by which Spenser was to have been charged with publishing Harvey's verses without his consent. All the matter surrounding the critical letter in which we are interested is of the period between the summer of 1579 and that of 1580. Nothing in the whole note-book refers to events known to have occurred after 1580; and only the copied letter from Fulke refers to matters as early as 1578. We may, then, in spite of the dislocation of a few leaves in the note-book and the absence of a specific date of the letter of criticism by Harvey, infer with reasonable probability that this letter shows that the Cantos of Mutability were read by Harvey to his circle and criticised by them between the summer of 1579 and that of 1580. The letters of Harvey and Spenser quoted above show certainly that some parts of *The Faerie Queene* were in Harvey's hands for criticism in the spring of 1580.

It is worth noticing also that of the "Two Other Very Commendable Letters" which Harvey had published in 1580, the second, from Harvey, dated October 23, 1579, begins and ends with the matter of "certaine Latin verses, of the frailtie and mutabilitie of all things, sauing onely Vertue." The first of the Latin poems sent in this letter by Harvey was made by Doctor Norton "for Thomas Sackford, Master of Requests," and is an eight-line anagram. This is paraphrased in another eight-line anagram by Doctor Goldingham. Next is an English version by "olde Maister Wythipol," and next Harvey's own rendering in ten lines of verse. In the letter Harvey jestingly charges that, amid so many "mortall and everperishing substaunces," Spenser immediately abandon all other fooleries and honor Virtue, "the onely immortall and surviving Accident." As some of Harvey's other letters seem to contain ideas which Spenser used later, it is possible that this letter may have been seriously received by Spenser and the suggestion taken up in earnest. The other possibility of course exists: that Harvey sent the verses because he knew Spenser was already interested in work on Mutability. In either case, the date of this letter is of interest in connection with the letter of criticism on Spenser's Mutability.

The theme of Mutability seems to have been a popular one about 1579. It was in that year that there was published a poem by Anthony Munday,

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The Mirrour for Mutabilitie, or principall part of the Mirrour for Magistrates, describing the fall of diuers famous Princes, and other memorable Personages, and dedicated to the Right Honorable the Earle of Oxenford. . . . Imprinted at London by John Allde and are to be solde by Richard Ballard at saint Magnus corner.[1]

Munday's poem is, properly speaking, not a part of the *Mirror for Magistrates,* but merely an imitation of it, and in its vein. It will be remembered that the *Mirror for Magistrates* was itself still in vogue, having gone through editions of 1559, 1563, 1571, 1574, 1575, and 1578; and that it has a kinship with Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium.* In *Tottel's Miscellany* a minor poem "Of the mutabilitie of the world" (which expresses a longing for rest) and others on Fortune's wheel show that speculations on the changing lot of man had a very long vogue. This is only a part of Spenser's Mutability cantos, but it is an essential part, and it especially provoked the criticism of Harvey for its "staleness."

In the well-known published letter of criticism by Harvey quoted above (the one replying to Spenser's letter of "Nonas Aprilis, 1580"), he breaks off from his strictures on *The Faerie Queene,* saying he will refrain from saying all he thinks. But in the draft in the note-book, which was perhaps intended for a letter to be privately communicated and never published, Harvey speaks very plainly, and he 'lets it not be short' either.

At first glance, the remarks in the letter of the *Letter-Book,* (pp. 82-88), appear to be a reply to a mere letter; but it is soon evident that Spenser has sent Harvey with his letter at least one literary production, the criticism of which, with a deterrent aim, is the main purpose of Harvey's drafted reply. It begins:

As many and as fewe salutations as you liste. Will you beleeve me? Your lastweekes letter, or rather bill of complaynte was deliverid me at myne hostisses by the fyersyde, beinge fasteheggid in rownde abowte on every side with a company of honest good fellowes, and at that tyme reasonable honest quaffers. I first runned it over cursorilye to my selfe, and spying the argument so generall (saving in on pointe onlye, where I layed a strawe), and withall so fittinge the humor of that crewe, after a shorte preface to make attention, began to pronounce it openly in the audience of the whole assemblye in sutch sorte as the brave orator

[1] For some account of this, see W. C. Hazlitt, *Bibliography of Old English Literature.* At least four copies are extant.

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Aeschines is reportid on a tyme to have redd owte with a wonderfull greate grace (in the hearing of the Rodians, amongst whome he then soiornid,) that noble oration of Demosthenes in defence of Ctesiphon.

Shall I be plaine with you? It was solemely agreeid upon, that the letter for the manner of the enditinge was very hanssomly penid and full of many proper conceiptes, but ye argumentes whereuppon ye libell of complaynte studd, were definitively condemnid, as unsufficient. To be shorte, ower finall resolution was, that an answer should incontinentlye be contrived amongst us all, savinge that on was to be dispensid withall, to playe the secretarye. The matter most specially concerninge me, I toulde them I was contente to beare twoe partes, and to playe both a quarter answerer and whole secretarye. My service being accepted of, ye first began, as followith:—

Sir yower newe complaynte of ye newe worlde is nye as owlde as Adam and Eve, and full as stayle as ye stalist fasshion that hath bene in fasshion since Noes fludd. You crie owte of a false and trecherous worlde, and therein ar passinge eloquent and patheticall in a degree above the highest. Nowe I beseeche you, Syr, did not Abell live in a false and trecherous worlde, that was so villanouslye and cruelly murtherid of his owne very brother? Na, did not ould Grandsier himselfe live in a false and trecherous worlde, that was so suttellye and fraudulentlye putt beside so incomparablely ritche and goodlye possession as Paraside (*sic*) was?

The storyes to this effecte—Tower of Babel, Sodome—ar notoriouslye knowne; there be infinite thousands of examples to proove that the first men in ye worlde were as well ower masters in villanye as ether predecessours in tyme or fathers in consanguinitye. Lett us not be so iniurious to remaender antiquitye as to deprive ye fardist of, of his due commendation, nether must we be so parcially affectionate towards any as, against ower owne consciences, to conceale these notorious and infamous trecheryes. Undowtidlye the very worlde itselfe millions of yeares before the Creation was predestinate to be a schoolhowse and shopp of all villanyes, and even then I suppose the illfavorid sprites and divells that nowe so truble and infecte the world were a devisinge and premeditatinge those infinite severall kindes and varietyes of wickednes, that immediately after the Creation and ever since they have so basely blown abroade and so cunningly plantid in every quarter and corner of the worlde.[8]

The fact that this letter refers chiefly to the Mutability cantos has doubtless been obscured for readers of the Harvey *Letter-Book* by its beginning with mention of a letter of Spenser and a "complaint," which might at first suggest that what Spenser sent Harvey was some early vision or pageant, or such a poem as *The Ruins of Time,* the first in the *Complaints* volume of 1590-

[8] *Letter-Book,* p. 83.

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1591. Because of the tendency of editors and critics to treat the Mutability cantos as a late product, little attention has been paid to the fact that they are themselves "complaints" and that they are of much the same mood and tone as several of the early pageants or visions, and especially of the *Ruins of Time*. They belong, I think, to the same period of the poet's development. But we shall see that Harvey's letter, while referring in a general way to the philosophy of life in Spenser's early complaints, is specifically directed at the Mutability cantos.

That the theme of mutability was much in Spenser's mind when he was writing his "visions" and "ruins" poems may be shown by several points of contact. For example, compare Canto vii, stanzas 17 and 18, of Mutability, with lines 42-56 of *Ruins of Time,* the passage beginning,

> O vaine worlds glorie, and unstedfast state
> Of all that lives on face of sinful earth

and closing,

> Sith all that in this world is great or gaie,
> Doth as a vapor vanish, and decaie,

and also with line 206,

> All things doo change that under heaven abide.

Again, the "VIII Canto, unperfite" of Mutability has the theme of Time the destroyer which occurs in several of Spenser's early works, and is particularly well illustrated in *The Ruins of Time, Visions of the World's Vanitie,* and the *Visions* of Petrarch. Indeed, this "unperfite" canto viii, in two Spenserian stanzas, seems to have been salvaged by Spenser when he rejected the Mutability cantos, by compressing it into the first eight lines of a sonnet used to cap off the *Complaints* volume; that is, the seventh sonnet, which carries the poet's address to the fair lady patron. The so-called eighth canto is a reflection by Spenser on the judgment delivered by Nature as the final doom of Mutability, in canto vii:

> When I bethinke me on that speech whyleare,
> Of Mutability, and well it way;
> Me seemes, that though she all unworthy were
> Of the Heav'ns Rule; yet very sooth to say,

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In all things else she beares the greatest sway.
Which makes me loath this state of life so tickle,
And love of things so vaine to cast away;
Whose flowring pride, so fading and so fickle,
Short Time shall soon cut down with his consuming sickle.

Then gin I thinke on that which Nature sayd,
Of that same time when no more Change shall be,
But stedfast rest of all thinges firmely stayd
Upon the pillours of Eternity,
That is contrayr to Mutabilitie:
For, all that moueth, doth in Change delight:
But thence-forth all shall rest eternally
With Him that is the God of Sabbaoth hight:
O that great Sabbaoth God, graunt me that Sabaoths sight.

The sonnet which serves as envoy either to the *Muiopotmos* group of poems whose title-page is dated 1590[9] or to the whole *Complaints* volume of 1591 in which it is included, laments the "tickle state" of this life, and voices, in somewhat less inspired fashion, the longing for eternal rest:

When I behold this tickle trustles state
Of vaine worlds glorie, flitting too and fro.
And mortall men tossed by troublous fate
In restles seas of wretchednes and woe.
I wish I might this wearie life forgoe,
And shortly turne vnto my happie rest,
Where my free spirite might not anie moe
Be vext with sights, that doo her peace molest.[10]

[9] Signatures show that the *Muiopotmos* group was intended for publication in the *Complaints* volume. The separate title-pages of the groups of poems, and the earlier date of the *Muiopotmos* suggest that a calculation was made, and that the parts were planned for issuance in two forms, separately for the various patrons, and in a larger volume, the *Muiopotmos* being put through first for Lady Carey. The New York Public Library has a copy of the *Muiopotmos* group separately bound; but the signatures of this too seem to indicate intention of inclusion in a larger unit. There are some reasons for thinking that the *Complaints* volume was not set up in order or continuously.

[10] The same prayer for rest in the grave (in another form) closes the six epigrams in *The Theatre of Voluptuous Worldlings*, 1569, which constitute the original form of these visions from Petrarch which Spenser in 1590 revised and re-dedicated to Lady Carey with a fresh Envoy. No one thinks of placing the Epigrams or the Visions near the end of the poet's career because of this prayer for eternal rest; but the prayer at the end of Mutability has been regarded as necessarily the expression of

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It is, of course, possible that the final sonnet in the *Complaints* volume was written before the two stanzas of the eighth canto of Mutability; but the contrary supposition is the more plausible in view of what now seems to be the history of the Mutability cantos as originally planned, as finally used in part, and, for the rest, rejected.

We turn now to the evidence that it was the Mutability cantos themselves, and not other passages in Spenser's works resembling them in content, that Harvey was criticising in the letter concerning his and his friends' reactions to what Spenser had just sent him. Whether because it is an immediate reaction, or because of the unanimous support of the "honest quaffers" who listened to the reading on that convivial occasion, the criticism shows no modest inhibitions, no doubts as to the superiority of the critics' judgment, no fear as to its possible effects. Harvey appears eager to seize his young poet-friend by the wings and bring him firmly back to earth, regardless of possible damage to the fine "velvet nap which on his wings doth lie." He is indeed ready to reconstruct at one sitting the young poet's whole philosophy of life.

Harvey's judgment of the Mutability cantos was very different from that of most modern critics. Instead of a sublime summit to a poet's development, they seem to him a youthful wail of bitter disillusionment from a young "gentleman and courtier." It is, Harvey thinks, Spenser's own personal disappointments[11] that have thrown him into this melancholy fit and produced the eloquent and pathetic complaint that the times in which he lived were out of joint; whereas, in Harvey's own opinion and that of the other "honest quaffers" present at the reading, the times were really very comfortable if one only viewed them cheerfully.

a poet nearing the end of his days. We should remind ourselves that world-weariness is as often the expression of adolescence as of the view of a man wearied with public affairs of years.

[11] Harvey was perhaps thinking of Spenser's disappointment about a proposed trip in Leicester's service (to Constantinople?), October, 1579. Spenser was at Leicester's house October, 1579, and was expecting to meet Harvey in London soon after. Harvey had himself been disappointed in regard to a proposed embassy (?) to France and Italy in the service of Elizabeth and under Leicester's patronage before 1578. See his Χαίρε (in the first Book of *Saffron Walden*), 1578, Grosart, *Harvey*, I, xxxix.

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The young gentleman and courtier seems to them to be wrestling vaguely, obscurely, ineffectually with some ancient cosmic abstractions which he himself but partly understands and which, if even partly understood by readers in general, would only tend to their discomfort with the present golden age.

To a more sympathetic reader the Mutability cantos might convey a different meaning. The poet, weary of the inconstancy, the unreliability of things mundane, has propped his dissolving faith in the essential goodness of the universe by one last saving clause. Though Nature changes, like everything else in life, she alone changes according to law and order, with a reasonableness beneath her variability which is intellectually beautiful and at the same time consoling in that it promises that, in spite of the seeming cycle of mere change, things shall "dilate their being" and "worke their owne perfection so by fate" before these distressing temporal mutations shall come to an end in the final rest of eternity.

It is, as Harvey objected, an old philosophy; but it is perennial. It is the escape of the poet, from time immemorial, from a baffling human world whose laws he cannot rationalize, to the world of nature, in which his spirit discovers law, order, and a promise of final peace. When Mutability flees to plead her case at the bar of Nature, who "right to all" doth "deale indifferently," as she declares, (canto vii, stanza 58), Nature, admitting that all things are subject to change, yet concludes that,

> being rightly wayd
> They are not changed from their first estate;
> But by their change their being doe dilate:
> And turning to themselves at length againe,
> Doe worke their owne perfection so by fate:
> Then over them Change doth not rule and raigne;
> But they raigne over change, and doe their states maintaine.

This conclusion Harvey flatly denies (p. 87):

> Nature herself is changeable and most of all delighted with vanitye; and art, after a sort her ape, conformeth herself to the like mutabilitye.

Harvey has no patience with the idea that the present age is out of joint and the first age was the best. Spenser (canto vi, stanza 5) laments a progressive corruption from a first good order of nature—not through the coming of sin into the world, but through the perverting activities of Mutability:

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> For, she the face of earthly things so changed,
> That all which Nature had establisht first
> In good estate, and in meet order ranged,
> She did pervert, and all their statutes burst:
> And all the world's fair frame (which none yet durst
> Of Gods or men to alter or misguide)
> She alter'd quite, and made them all accurst
> That God had blest; and did at first prouide
> In that still happy state for euer to abide.
>
> Ne shee the lawes of Nature onely brake,
> But eke of Justice, and of Policie;
> And wrong of right, and bad of good did make,
> And death for life exchanged foolishlie:
> Since which, all living wights haue learn'd to die,
> And all this world is woxen daily worse.
> O pittious work of MUTABILITIE!

To this Harvey (p. 86) opposes the newer philosophy of Bodin:

> You suppose the first age was the goulde age. It is nothinge soe. Bodin defendeth the goulde age to flourish nowe, and owr first grandfathers to have rubbid thorowghe in the iron and brasen age at the beginninge when all thinges were rude and unperfitt in comparison of the exquisite finesse and delicacye, that we ar growen unto at these dayes.

To the same conception, of the world of goodness and innocence at the time of the Creation, Harvey had already reacted at some length in the passage which I have quoted above (on page 99). The notion of a world growing progressively worse seems to have been peculiarly irritating to the sanguine temperament of Harvey.

Spenser's treatment of fire, water, earth, air, and wind, and of the combination of the four elements calls forth from Harvey a tedious disquisition evidently designed to ridicule Spenser's cosmic conceptions as either trite and obvious or futile and inconclusive.

Spenser devotes one stanza (canto vii, stanza 24) to Fire, "which, though it liue for euer, Ne can be quenched quite." For this he is roundly dealt with by Harvey (p. 83): first, for daring to undertake to understand what fire is; and, secondly, for his wrong conclusion that the secret is conveyed from age to age:

> The fyer is a queynte subtile element beyonde the reatche and capacity of our divinist and most mystical philosophers (I except not Hermes himselfe), . . . and I knowe not by what extraordinarye and secret meanes ye knowledge thereof shoulde desende into the intelligible and reasonable parte, but by the ministry and mediation of owtewarde and externall

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sences and be cabalistically conveyid over from age to age; which biinge utterly absurde (for who ever saw or felt the verye pure firye element unless it were perchaunce Prometheus or sum like imaginarye wonder of the worlde?) why maye not that which they call fyer for any thinge that is certainely knowne to the contrarye be the very local place and seate of Hell, where is sutch horrible fierworkes and sutch continual burninge flames as both the formiddiste Catholique divines and most excellent profane writers threaten against the wickid? Or at lestewise why maye it not be a certayne excessive and everlastinge heate, proceedinge from the whott breathes of so many divellish sprites and scalding fiendes, as ar there inhabitinge, and by a forcible burninge influence inflaminge the alreddye furious and boylinge minds of tyrants and whott impatient divellish fellowes (wherwith the fowre partes of the worlde are nowe sett on fier, and which finallye according to the most auncient divine oracles and fatall destinyes must necessarilye consume and destroye all) to all kinde of colerick passions, extreame outrages and horrible crueltyes as well for pleasure as revenge or otherwise?

A poet might well be discouraged, upon finding his one innocent little stanza buried beneath such an avalanche of wisdom and irony as this.

Still more severe is Harvey's reaction to the two stanzas (canto vii, stanzas 22 and 23) concerned with the air, its infinite changes and contrarieties, and their effects on people:

> Next is the Ayre: which who feeles not by sense
> (For, of all sense, it is the middle meane)
> To flit still? and with subtill influence
> Of his thin spirit, all creatures to maintaine,
> In state of life? O weak life! that does leane
> On thing so tickle as th' unsteady ayre;
> Which every howre is chang'd, and altred cleane
> With every blast that bloweth fowle or faire:
> The faire doth it prolong; the fowle doth it impaire.
>
> Therein the changes infinite beholde,
> Which to her creatures every minute chaunce;
> Now, boyling hot; streight, friezing deadly cold:
> Now, faire sun-shine, that makes all skip and daunce:
> Streight, bitter storms and baleful countenaunce,
> That makes them all to shiver and to shake:
> Rayne, hayle, and snowe do pay them sad penance,
> And dreadful thunder-claps (that make them quake)
> With flames and flashing lights that thousand changes make.

If it is absurd for Spenser to deal with fire, it is, according to Harvey, sheer egotism to attempt to treat of the air, either in itself

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or as affecting the life and the spirits of man. He points this out twice, making it his last remark in the criticism of the poem:

Anemographia. Not the greatist clarke and profondist philosopher that ever was in the worlde can tell the certayne cawse of the windes? What can they be but huge legions and millions of invisible tumultuous and tempestuous spirites? What cause can there be in the erthe of such blowinge and blusteringe in everye place, be the qualityes and dispositions otherwise never so repugnant and contrarye? What matter so everlastinge and endles?

Melancholye sprites ingender melancholye passions in men, affections colericke, colericke passions, &c. Mens bodyes are disposed and qualified accordinge to the spiritts that have the predominant regiment over them, and all philosophye saith that the temperature and disposition inclination of the mindes followythe the temperature and composition of the bodye. Galen &c.

Customarye and cabalisticall by tradition. (pp. 87-88).

Spenser's discussion of the changes and contrarities of the air provoked from Harvey the impatient comment (p. 84):

And then, as for the aier or winde, not the profondist philosopher that ever wrote to this daye can tell me or dare undertake to determine what it is. Maybe it not be, trowe you, a compounde of aierye, wyndie, raynie, snowye, frostye, coulde, whott, fayre, fowle, howlsum, contagious caulme and blustering tempestuous sprites? replenishinge every place where it entrith (and it entrith at all aventure in every place beinge not alreddie fulfilled with sum other corpulent bodye) with diversitye of like qualities and effectes, and whirlinge into every mans eares infinite blastes of aierye conceiptes, and levityes, sutch as light women and fantasticall heddes ar puffid upp withall; and specially diverse franticke herittiques that ar the fonders and ringleaders of newfanglid opinions and vayne ridiculous sectes?

Spenser's "watery living wights" of stanza 21 Harvey dismisses briefly thus (p. 84):

I will not desier you to creddit magicians but even ower best and most allowid philosophers themselves to go forwarde with the reste, grante there be innumerable legions of waterishe and earthlye sprytes. And who can tell but the erthe itselfe maye be a compacte and condensate bodye of the grosser and quarrier sorte of them?

The poet's attempt to wrestle with the elements in combination and in opposition (stanza 25) is more cavalierly dealt with. Spenser says:

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Thus, all these fower (the which the ground-work bee
Of all the world, and of all liuing wights)
To thousand sorts of Change we subject see,
Yet are they chang'd (by other wondrous slights)
Into themselves, and lose their natiue mights;
The Fire to Aire, and th' Ayre to Water sheere,
And Water into Earth: yet Water fights
With Fire, and Aire with Earth approaching neere:
Yet all are in one body, and as one appeare.

This opposition of the elements, Harvey, with a sort of elephantine playfulness, turns on Spenser as an explanation of why it is that the world has always been so topsy-turvy that every age has always seemed a bad age at the time (pp. 84-85):

And so the water, both lande and water bendinge themselves and all the power they can make so spitefullye and devilishlye against the heavens, and so cunninglye bewitchinge there inhabitants with a certayne superstitious and incredible admiration of there comodityes and treasures for the cumpassinge and obteininge whereof so many trecherous and villanous practices ar dayly and howerlye putt in execution. Sure I am fierye, aerye, watrishe and erthely divels ar ye onlye absolute monarches of ye worlde, if they be not ye very worlde itself, and have amongst them a most sovrayne and predominate regimente over all elementes themselves. And on thing maketh me vehementlye suspecte that the physicians and philosophers imaginid no lesse but durste not so flatly utter it, in that they howlde it as a naturall principle in there physickes, that ye elementes ar not mixte and compounde, but pure and simple, and as a man would saye bodyes, whereas to spirituall thinkinge and in naturall reason they sensibelye appear very compoundes. What marvell nowe (consideringe the praemisses and per consequences what maye [be] inferd of the praemisses) thowgh the world from the very begininge to this daye, and manelye at this daye (as every age hath allwayes complaynid of the present age) hath ever bene and still remainithe so maliciouslye sett and so ungraciously disposid beinge ever since the Creation and shall alwayes continue thorowhowte and on every side so throngid and invironid in and compassid with such infinite huge ostes of miserable wickid creatures, and moste subtle enemyes, that knowe as well ther owne aduantage and where the shooe pinchith us most, as the begger knowith his dishe?

A part of Harvey's letter is assigned by him to a member of the group to whom the poem was read. He is represented as interrupting the self-appointed secretary to suggest new points of objection. But it all sounds much like Harvey speaking in his own person. The desire to father the sentiments on others may perhaps be explained by the fact that this part of the letter re-

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veals a fundamental opposition to two conceptions especially near to Spenser's heart: an ideal view of love, and a devotion to the cause of scholars, both of which struck Harvey as extreme. As these particular reactions seem to be chiefly to other poems than Mutability, I will select first from the alleged dictated criticism a bit which does apply directly to Mutability (p. 87):

> There is a variable course and revolution of all thinges. Summer gettith the upperhande of wynter, and wynter agayne of summer. Nature herselfe is changeable, and most of all delighted with vanitye; and arte, after a sort her ape, conformith herselfe to the like mutabilitye. The moone waxith and wanithe; the sea ebbith and flowith; and as flowers so ceremonyes, lawes, fasshions, customs, trades of livinge, sciences, devises, and all thinges else in a manner floorishe there tyme and then fade to nothinge. Nothinge to speak of ether so restorative and comfortable for delighte or beneficial and profitable for use, but beinge longe togither enioyed and continued at laste ingendrith a certayne satietye, and then it soone becumeth odious and lothsum. So it standith with mens opinions and iudgementes in matters of doctrine and religion.

This passage will be seen to summarise four of Spenser's topics in Mutability, but so as to show that, contrary to the poet's view, mutability is not merely inevitable, but a natural and comfortable state of affairs. Spenser's long pageant of the seasons (canto vii, stanzas 18 and 28-43) is briefly dismissed by Harvey, doubtless because it is one of the old stale subjects of which he has already complained.

Spenser gives great space to the waxing and waning of the moon as a proof that mutability is universal (canto vi, stanza 8 ff.). The intention here may have been in line with the general purpose of the proposed book on Constancy—to show that even the ruling gods, as illustrated by Cynthia (Elizabeth?), are themselves ruled by Mutability. Some evidence could be assembled, not only to show that changes of the moon were used by courtiers and statesmen to describe the whimsical policies of this Diana at times, but also to prove that Elizabeth was figured in letters, perhaps also in legend and masque, as inconstant in her decisions and her preferences. The treatment of the moon's phases in Spenser's poem would prepare one gradually for what, I imagine, was the one too "particular" line on which Harvey said he "laid a straw" when reading the poem to his friends, (canto vii, stanza, 50),

> So that as changefull as the Moone men use to say.

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If the Constancy legend was intended in part as a criticism of Elizabeth, it probably had to do with her shifting Irish policies. The setting of the two cantos on Arlo Hill and the little tale of an injury sustained by Ireland from Cynthia and her followers locate the matter definitely. Harvey, in a list of jottings following the date 1579 in his *Marginalia*[14] has a note on the wrong and the unwisdom of making extreme attacks upon the ruler:

> Treason cannot be wrought so cunningly, or so secretly, but it will be detected: and the least appearance of displeasure, or malcontentment, disgraceth every subject and proovith nothing but his own contempt, & forlorne wretchednes. Frowardnes towards any is one of ye basist, vilest, rudest, & grosest qualities in ye world; but toward ye prince or any princely peere, A most absurd, senceles, and pernitious property. The cause of no good anyway.

Harvey himself got into trouble over "frowardness" toward peers and other persons of distinction about this time; but, though he continued to put on a bold front before Spenser (as is indicated by Spenser's sonnet of July, 1586, to Harvey on his courage in censuring the great and powerful), he may have felt already the stirrings of caution. So that it is possible that, besides feeling that the Mutability cantos were poor as philosophy, Harvey feared that the projected book on Ireland would be too open in criticism of fluctuating policies of state. This fear may have been back of his discouragement of Spenser's efforts on this theme.

"The sea ebbeth and floweth," says Harvey of the variableness of nature. The same phrase appears in Spenser's stanza on the changeableness of the water (canto vii, stanza 20):

> Ne is the water in more constant case;
> Whether those same on high or these belowe.
> For th'Ocean moveth stil, from place to place
> And every River still dothe ebb and flowe.

This item is in Harvey followed by the fluctuation of men's opinions and judgments. In Spenser it is immediately preceded by the same idea (canto vii, stanza 19):

> Ne doe their bodies only flit and fly:
> But eke their minds (which they immortal call)
> Still change and vary thoughts, as new occasions fall.

[14] Ed. by G. C. Moore Smith, p. 150.

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Even if Harvey had not used the very term *Mutability,* the number of topics of the Mutability cantos on which he has reacted in his letter is sufficient to indicate that those cantos were uppermost in his mind. There is, however, a certain surplusage of criticism which indicates, in all probability, a continued difference with the poet on a certain fundamental conviction of Spenser's—of the desirability of "keeping the body under" by putting Reason above Appetite, by preferring the spiritual aspects of love to the sensual, an opposition, in short, to Spenser's whole comparative rating of material and spiritual values. Harvey protests (p. 85):

> You make a wonderfull greate matter of it, that reason, contrarye to all reason and ye custom of former ages is forcibly constraynid to yeelde her obedience, and to be in a manner vassal unto appetite. See, I beseech you, howe you overshoote yourselfe and mistake the matter, in being overcredulous to beleeve whatsoever is unadvisedly committid to writinge. Here is righte a newe comedye for him that were delightid with overthwart and contrary Supposes. You suppose the first age was the goulde age. . . . You suppose it a foolish madde worlde, wherin all things ar overrulid by fansye. What greater error? All things else ar but troble of minde and vexation of spiritt. Untill a mans fansye be satisfied, he wantith his most soveraigne contentment, and cannot never be at quiet in himselfe. You suppose most of these bodily and sensual pleasures ar to be abandonid as unlawfull and the inward contemplative delightes of the mind more zelously to be imbracid as most commendable. Good Lord, you a gentleman, a courtier, an yuthe, and go about to revive so owlde and stale a bookishe opinion, deade and buried many hundrid yeares before you or I knew whether there were any worlde or noe! You are suer the sensible and tickling pleasures of the tastinge, feelinge, smellinge, seeinge, and hearinge are very recreative and delectable indeede. Your ether delightes proceedinge of sum strange mellancholy conceites and speculative imaginations discoursid at large in your fansye and brayne ar but imaginarye and fastanticall delightes, and but for names sake might as well and more trulye be callid the extremist labours and miserabeliste torments under the sunne.

The ideas here objected to are so much a part of Spenser that the criticism could apply to several passages in his poems; but the turning of torments of love into delights most definitely suggests the treatment of love in the early *Hymn in Honour of Love.* This poem shows the setting of the spiritual conception of love above the physical, the distinction between love and lust, the delight in the idea, or image, of the beloved, the satisfaction with inward contemplative delights of the mind, the great labors, torments, and

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rewards of love. As in *The Tears of the Muses,* the "dunghill" thoughts of love that characterize the lustful are here condemned. True love is in the Hymn

> Lord of truth and loialtie,
> Lifting himself out of the lowly dust,
> On golden plumes up to the purest skie,
> Above the reach of loathly sinfull lust.[15]

It is this hymn, too, in all probability, that Harvey objects to as presenting too hard and painful a view of love. The "fancy that is not satisfied" is very definitely suggested in lines 190-202, on the power of this higher love to expel all sordid baseness, and on the idea, mirror, or image of heavenly light that is fashioned in the refined mind of the lover. It is the type of love

> Whose image printing in his deepest wit,
> He thereon feeds his hungrie fantasy,
> Still full, yet neuer satisfyde with it,
> Like Tantale, that in store doth sterued ly:
> So doth he pine in most satiety.

Through the next ten stanzas he expounds what Harvey would call the "extremist labours and miserabeliste torments under the sunne," namely, what the lover is willing to undergo: peril, pain, a hell of desire, sleepless nights, envy, fear, jealousy. All these trials, Spenser says, but endear love to the lover and through their purgatory reveal his heaven.

But it looks as if still another poem were in Harvey's mind in this general attack on Spenser's attitude toward life. In *The Tears of the Muses,* Erato is disgusted with the lewd love poetry made by fools, their "dunghill thoughts." Urania also condemns the frailties of the flesh. Hers are the inner pleasures of the mind (ll. 524 ff.):

> How euer yet they mee despise and spight,
> I feede on sweet contentment of my thought,
> And please my selfe with mine owne selfe-delighte,
> In contemplation of things heavenlie wrought.

She prescribes self-discipline and humbling of the will. It is against this idealized love that Harvey protests. A still more

[15] Lines 176 ff. Cf. love and lust, *F. Q.*, Bk. III, canto iii, beginning; and reason opposed to passion, *F. Q.*, Bk. II.

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specific reaction upon *The Tears of the Muses* may be seen in connection with Melpomene's inquiry (lines 147 ff.):

> Why doo they banish us, that patronize
> The name of learning? Most unhappie wretches,
> The which lie drowned in deep wretchednes,
> Yet doo not see their owne unhappines.

Harvey, whether for pure perversity, or in order to show that a scholar can see his own wretchedness, bursts out (p. 86):

> You suppose us students happye, and thinke the aire preferrid that breathithe on thes same great lernid philosophers and profonde clarkes. Would to God you were on of there men but a sennighte. I dowbte not but you would sweare ere Sunday nexte, that there were not the like wofull and miserable creaturs to be fownde within ye cumpas of the whole world agayne. None so injurious to themselves, so tyranous to there servantes, so niggardly to ther kinsfolkes, soe rigorrous to ther acquayntance, soe unprofitable to all. . . . Looke them in the face: you will straytewayes affirme that they are the dryest, leanist, ill-favoriddist, abiectist, base minddist carrions and wretcheckes that ever you sett your eie on.

This is perhaps one of the least serious of Harvey's reactions to poems submitted to him by Spenser.

The poems referred to in Harvey's letter seem, then, to be: first, and chiefly, the Cantos of Mutability, which gave the occasion for the criticism; secondly, the *Hymn in Honor of Love,* and possibly some other passages showing a neo-Platonic conception of love; and thirdly, *The Tears of the Muses,* though perhaps in an earlier form. As *The Tears of the Muses* is clearly divided into nine dramatic speeches named for the nine Muses, it is not impossible that the "Nine English Commoedies" referred to in Harvey's second letter on the earthquake, printed in 1580, may be an earlier form of *The Tears of the Muses, comedy* being used to mean critical satire (as was common enough). This would explain the remark on the nine English comedies and the Latin *Stemmata Dudleiana,* "These *two* shall go for my money," which is hard to explain as referring to nine separate comedies and a tenth poem besides. The *Stemmata Dudleiana* was perhaps drawn upon for parts of the *Ruins of Time,* in the passages concerning Leicester and his house. *The Tears of the Muses* is obviously in many parts a poem much earlier than 1590; and it seems likely that in some shape it had

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been before Harvey as early as 1580, whether or not it can be supposed to be the "Nine English Commoedies" he refers to.

Making some allowance for an attempt at playfulness, we still see in Harvey's criticism of Spenser's poems a fundamental clash of temperaments and points of view, of philosophies of life. The extreme unfavorableness of Harvey's criticism was probably not due to lack of intelligence, to rivalry, envy, or any unfriendly motive. It was meant to be helpful. The two friends appear always to have been genuinely attached. On purely intellectual grounds they were fitted for mutual understanding. Harvey knew much more than Spenser in many fields of learning, and in general was more widely read. This would draw Spenser strongly to him, as the poet was always ready to honor any devotee of learning. Harvey doubtless felt that he was doing Spenser a real service in attempting to turn him away from what he honestly thought mistaken ventures, and also in trying to make him live with himself and his ideals with greater comfort and cheerfulness. He found his friend sad and melancholy. One of Harvey's three cardinal rules for regulating his own life was "perpetual cheerfulness."[16] The three things most hostile to man, he says, are "sloth, sadness, and coldness."[17] This desire for good cheer is caught by Spenser in his June eclogue, where he pictures Hobbinol as delighting in Colin's rimes and roundelayes, and declaring that the birds are put to it to frame to his song their "chereful cheriping." An emotional upset was in Harvey's opinion damaging to the health. He wrote in his book of Hopperus, (*Marginalia,* 182) a list of "things bad for the heart," which runs as follows:

> Beans, pease, leeks, garlyke, onyons, sadnes, anger, dreade, too much trauell, to drynk cowld water after trauayl, & euill tydinges: Ill for ye hart.

It will be noted that the last thing he writes of in his criticism of Spenser is melancholy and its causes. If Spenser had happened in on Harvey's circle just after the reading of his plaintive poems, it seems not unlikely that his friend, unable to guess whether such a pain in the poet's heart was due to sadness, beans, garlic, or

[16] *Marginalia* (Ed. G. C. Moore Smith), 199. Cf. also p. 154 on "pure sanguin" and "Melancholy an Asse in Witt, & Memory."

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 145, in notes of the year 1580. Cf. also pp. 142, 143, 155.

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evil tidings, might have suggested to him a liver pill, on the off chance of effecting a speedy cure.

The abysmal gulf between Harvey and Spenser is in matters requiring delicacy of perception, refinement of taste. In brain power Harvey was undoubtedly far superior to Bryskett and Raleigh; but Bryskett probably and Raleigh certainly provided a more favorable influence for the career of a poet of Spenser's temperament. Harvey was able to give Spenser a great deal of information; but he lacked the instincts of a gentleman, a poet, and a dreamer, and was incapable of projecting himself sympathetically into the point of view of one so different. His lack of proper human approach is well illustrated by the long series of epistles in the Letter-Book to John Young and others when Harvey was in hot water at Cambridge. Here he oftener puts himself in the wrong than others do it for him. His essential indelicacy in matters pertaining to the emotions is illustrated by his own crude attempts at English poetry, especially by the *Schollars Love*. It would be unfair to illustrate by such a shocking poem but for the fact that it was a conspicuous item in the projected volume which was to be fathered on Spenser as the publishing agent against the author's will. If this scheme for publication had materialized, it would have been a grave injustice, especially as Spenser so frequently expressed in print his scorn of just such poetry, or verse, as this. In writing to Harvey, Spenser was always mild in his comment on the crude and amateurish stuff; but a sly touch now and then shows that he was probably not deceived as to the quality. *The Schollars Love* shows a realization of two phases of love, one which insanely idealizes the beloved object, worthy or not, and one which frankly, even hotly, accepts it when proved base. It reverses the conventional idealizing of the beloved as definitely as do the most sordid of the "dark woman" sonnets of the Shakespeare cycle, and does it still more coarsely. Anything further from Spenser's neo-Platonic idealism could hardly be imagined. Harvey's poem shows a hearty enjoyment of dirty imaginings. The same notebook that contains the criticism of Spenser's treatment of love contains this vulgar poem, probably written near the same date. It also includes the account of the pursuit of Harvey's sister Mercy by a profligate young nobleman (Philip Howard, Earl of Surrey), presented with extraordinary detail. This illustrates well Harvey's goodness of intention and also his essential lack of taste. What he

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meant to do was to record an incident in which he played the part of good older brother intervening to save an innocent country girl from the bold nobleman's advances. Mercy was saved, perhaps, from the nobleman, but she has come down to us unmercifully blotted by her brother's ink—apparently a cross between the intended country milkmaid and a naughty, designing courtesan. This effect seems to be due not to anything in the facts of the case, but to an entire lack of delicacy on Harvey's part and a partial lack of imagination such as would enable him to enter into a situation from the point of view of any other than himself.

The contrast between Harvey's and Spenser's natures tempts one to inquire whether a close and long-continued contact with Harvey proved a baneful influence on Spenser either as a poet or as a man. The chief effect on his poetical work seems to have been to encourage publication of the *Calender* and of some such pieces as appear in the *Complaints* and to delay publication of *The Faerie Queene* until other friends (Sidney, Bryskett, and Raleigh) had given the poet confidence in its worth. More specifically, Harvey's criticism was no doubt directly responsible for Spenser's rejecting a plan for one proposed book on Irish affairs at a date when he knew comparatively little about them at first hand and substituting at a later date a new book of much more vigorous tone, Book V. Certain portions of the old book are preserved in Book V, and other portions appear in other poems; so that the intention to abandon the Mutability cantos seems evident. Delaying the publication of *The Faerie Queene* may have worked a temporary hardship on the poet, but it is doubtful whether it harmed the poem, as slow composition and revision are usually helpful in such a work. And he was certainly better prepared to write on Irish affairs after his work with Grey in Ireland.

In 1579-1580 Spenser was very diffident about his work and dependent on friends for counsel. He was pulled in contrary directions, apparently, by the poet-patron, Sidney, whom he greatly reverenced, and by his bosom friend and mentor at that time, Gabriel Harvey. Harvey was no doubt an honest and well-meaning critic. His unshaken confidence in his own judgment is reflected by Spenser's implicit trust. In his letter of October 5, 1579, Spenser clearly reveals to Harvey that Sidney is the hero whom he worships somewhat timidly. Sidney has been gracious to Spenser, and has even offered to correspond with him during his expected

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trip abroad in the service of Sidney's uncle, Leicester—the trip so hopefully described in Spenser's Latin poem, but probably never taken. But Spenser has misgivings about the possibility that some may think the work he is planning to dedicate to Sidney—undoubtedly the *Calender*—is too base for him, "being made in Honour of a priuate Personage unknowne," a woman whom Harvey knows to be worthy but others may not. Harvey has had the manuscript, has made a "fine addition" to the title, and has urged publication. But Spenser wishes Harvey to reconsider his first judgment with care after learning of the poet's misgivings about Sidney's reception of the *Calender;* for Harvey's judgment is to rule him:

> If these and the like doubts, may be of importance in your seeming, to frustrate any parte of your aduice, I beseeche you, without the leaste selfloue of your own purpose, councell me for the beste: and the rather doe it faithfullye and carefullye, for that in all things I attribute so much to your iudgement that I am euermore content to adnihilate mine owne determination, in respecte thereof.

One can only guess what is meant by "self loue of your own purpose" in connection with Harvey and the *Calender.* The endless over-elaboration of trifles, the heavy pedantry, the occasional vulgarity, and the prosaic quality of the glosses often suggest that Harvey may have had a finger in them, besides furnishing the tail to the title and the stimulus to publish the *Calender.* The January gloss has Harvey at the front, first as related to Sir Thomas Smith (a fact Harvey fondly advertised), and second, as bosom friend of Spenser (another tie frequently announced by Harvey). The note on Hobbinol in the January gloss, an uncalled for atrocity, seems to me peculiarly characteristic of Harvey's manner. But this is, of course, mere personal impression. It is a fact that Harvey encouraged the publication of the *Calender,* and that he had been reading it a few months before it was entered for publication. He used the gloss on the March emblem to tease Spenser over lovesickness, in his letter of October 23, 1579 (*Works,* 641), and attributed the sentiment of the gloss to himself and Spenser in common.

Meanwhile Sidney was exerting influence in a direction contrary to that of Harvey. The letter which is so full of Sidney was written from Leicester's house in October, 1579, just a few months before the *Calender* was entered on the Registers. In the October

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eclogue Piers voices views which seem to be Sidney's. He endeavors to turn the poet from the lowly pastoral to heroic verse in celebration of Queen Elizabeth and the worthy she loved best, that is, Leicester. With this advice of Piers we may compare the positive statement by "W. L." in his commendatory verses in the 1590 folio of *The Faerie Queene:*

> So Spenser was by Sidneys speaches wonne
> To blaze her fame, not fearing future harmes.

Whatever modern scholars may think about it, Spenser and some contemporaries regarded Sidney as the chief early patron of Spenser's poetry. Sidney's preference for the heroical vein and the larger theme was apparently followed as against the contrary preference of Harvey. When the new vein was a proved success, Harvey briefly acknowledged it twice by coupling Spenser with Sidney in praising Spenser's "heroical cantos" and his "brave Faerie Queene"—in his *Foure Letters* of 1592, and in *Pierces Supererogation* of 1593. And even in the first folio of *The Faerie Queene,* Harvey, in one of his best English poems, *To the Learned Shepherd,* forced himself to admit that the vein of *The Faerie Queene* was more refined and therefore more likely to please the great and to win favor. He continued, however, to lament the laying aside of the pastoral. The lyrics, and especially the light-hearted ones, Harvey could appreciate. He probably liked even better the shrewd satire of *Mother Hubbards Tale,* ideas for which he must have contributed if his letters of 1580 antedate the composition of the Tale. Harvey was a hard-headed man, eminently practical. One expects him to admire a poem which is like a nut, something definite and hard for the mind to bite on.

A glimpse of the reason for Harvey's distaste for the whole scheme of *The Faerie Queene* may be had from some notes in his books (*Marginalia,* pp. 197-98). He hated backward-looking views of society, fantastic republics, abstract contemplations, idle dreams, and transcendentalism:

> Vivimus in Smithi Rep: non in Mori Utopia; aut Platonis Politeia; aut regno Xenophontis.

We live in the age of Smith's *Republic*—not merely, I think, because Harvey was personally attached to Smith, but because his *Republic* is new and up-to-date, practical, workable, in his opinion. The

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others are dead. In the same connection, Harvey jots down a rule of life for himself, a paragraph of advice, to be a man of action, and not a dreamer:

> Other raunging and transcending generalityes in abstracto & contemplatiuo, & in ye Clowdes, nothing but idle and vain speculations. Idle Hedds ar allway in yr transcendentibus, et in nubibus: politique witts, euermore in concreto actiuo.

What is wanted in study is "praesent meditations and particular impressions orderly disposed and digested for euer."

Harvey's patronizing air toward Spenser is that of the hard-headed man of affairs, bold, self-reliant, sanguine, untroubled by tormenting doubts of himself, of others, or of the world in general. Harvey regarded himself as a very broad-minded man, very modern in his opinions, and, above all, practical. He desired his friend Spenser to be a "politique witt," sanguine, active, successful, and comfortable.[18]

If the Cantos of Mutability were written as an early portion of *The Faerie Queene,* submitted to Harvey, and suppressed because of his dislike of them, how much blame shall we attach to Harvey?

If as a result of this sort of criticism Spenser changed his emphasis and method somewhat before he published *The Faerie Queene,* it is possible that the change was not wholly for the bad, at least as concerns materials not yet included in this early effort. It would certainly be difficult to sustain the mood and tone of the Mutability cantos through any great epic, or even through a whole book. Their air is fine; but if it proved too rare for the Cambridge intellectuals of Harvey's circle, perhaps many others would have thought it on too high a plane. Spenser's interest in abstract ideals, his desire to criticise, correct, elevate, he could not lay aside; but he could and did create a world of something more definite and substantial than air, wind, fire, and water for the common mind. And so we have the gorgeous figures of the great tapestry unrolled in canto after canto, many of them concrete figures from the life of his own day, the events prismatically colored by the poet's eye, but not entirely remote from reality.

Moreover, we should not have altogether lost the Mutability

[18] Cf. his persuading him to leave the North parts and an unhappy love affair and to interest himself in affairs at court.

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cantos even if they had not been preserved and published ten years after the author's death. Much of them remains elsewhere.

I have suggested above that the Mutability cantos, on the theme of Constancy, were to have surveyed Irish-English affairs, with comment on "Cynthia's" treatment of Ireland. The notion of such a book may very well have occurred to Spenser before he went to Ireland. The Arlo Hill setting, the account of Ireland's happy past, (stanza 38), and Cynthia's punishment of a part of Ireland favor the idea that Irish policies were to have been the main theme. Stanzas 36-55 are particularly local.

Certain points of contact appear between the Mutability cantos and Book V. The conception of Nature in Mutability, canto vii, st. 14, "who Right to all" doth "deal indifferently" is much like that of even-handed Justice in Book V. This Justice is like God in that

> both to good and bad he dealeth right
> And all his workes with Justice hath bedight.

Also, Mutability is presented as breaking not only laws of Nature but laws of Justice and Policie (canto vi, stanza 6). Spenser resisted Harvey's criticism of his views of the golden age, and transferred to the prelude of Book V without essential change from Mutability his opinions on that point. The first age, he still insists, was the gold age, and the present age is topsy-turvy. His whole Book V must now prove that very point, "Right now is wrong, and wrong that was is right." He says in stanzas 1 and 2 of the prelude to Book V:

> Me seemes the world is runne quite out of square,
> From the first point of his appointed sourse,
> And being once amisse growes daily wourse and wourse.
>
> For from the golden age, that first was named,
> It's now at earst become a stonie one.

The first four stanzas sum up the poet's view of a criss-cross world, degenerated from the good old times. Stanzas 5, 6, 7, 8, continue the use of matter from Mutability in that they present the alteration of the spheres (Cf. Mutability, vii, 55 ff.) as signs of the fact that "all things else in time are chaunged quight" (Book V, prelude, 4), which is precisely the theme and the method of the corresponding portion of Mutability. And the last two stanzas of the pre-

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lude continue the debt less conspicuously, as I noted above, in that the figure of Justice deals right to good and bad, as does Nature at the bar in the Mutability cantos. Of the eleven stanzas prefacing Book V, then, none except the last fails to show definite kinship with the matter of the Mutability cantos. It looks as if Spenser had used what he could of the old book in his new one on Irish affairs.

A later note of Harvey (1581) suggests that he may have found matter to criticise in Book V as well as in Mutability, and that he connected the two. It is in Harvey's *Marginalia* (p. 186), among jottings headed "1581" in Hopperus, *In veram iurisprudentiam* (printed 1580). It will be remembered that in criticising Mutability Harvey denied the whole doom of Nature and Spenser's conception of Nature as opposed to Mutability. Perhaps it is in the same vein that he wrote in 1581:

> Lex foemina est: ut Fortuna: non Vir, non Deus. Quis expectet a Muliere, quantumuis incorrupta, perpetuam constantiam? Sit Astraea. virgo illibata, et integra: sit Themis Dea: at foeminei sexus sunt. Verbum intelligenti sat.

Now in Spenser's *Faerie Queene,* Book V, canto 1, stanzas 5 and 11-12, Astrea is the ideal of justice who reared Artegall (V, 1, 5 ff.) and who, on returning to heaven, left with Artegall her groom, the iron man, Talus, meaning possibly the Law. Astrea found the world abounding with sin, and so

> Return'd to heaven, whence she deriu'd her race;
> Where she hath now an everlasting place,
> Mongst those twelve signes, which nightly doe we see
> The heavens bright-shining baudricke to enchace;
> And is the Virgin, sixt in her degree,
> And next her selfe her righteous ballance hanging bee.
>
> But when she parted hence, she left her groome
> An yron man, which did on her attend.
> . . . . . .
> His name was Talus, made of iron mould. (V, 1, 11-12).

Now Harvey was studying for the law. If Talus is the Law, as some have supposed, it is perhaps this conception of the law in iron mould that provoked Harvey's reaction. The trouble is, the law is not of iron mould; and it is no man, but a woman, whimsical, inconstant.

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"Themiste just" is briefly mentioned by Spenser (IV, xi, 51). And Nature in Mutability is of doubtful sex. The question of possible constancy in a woman, particularly a governing woman, Cynthia, was, I imagine, a crucial point in the projected legend of Constancy as originally mapped out by Spenser in connection with some Irish history. If the Harvey note on Astrea, the Law, and constancy in woman was in any way suggested to Harvey by reading further work of Spenser's on Book V after Spenser went to Ireland, it would seem to indicate that a book originally intended to treat Irish-English affairs in general with reference to abstract justice was sharpened and pointed to more specific issues as the treatment of Lord Grey led Spenser more and more definitely to take sides against the powers at home that sponsored such a trying policy resulting in damage to Ireland and injustice to those who, in the poet's view, were the representatives of justice in that realm.

A still larger use of material from the rejected cantos of Mutability seems to be made in the Garden of Adonis, Book III, canto vi, stanzas 33 ff. This part of *The Faerie Queene* may very well have been written after Spenser had gone to Ireland, as we have no record of imitation of it or of quotations from it prior to his appointment with Lord Grey. The Garden of Adonis, then, may reasonably appear as a recasting of many of the ideas of Mutability after the discouraging reception of that poem by Harvey. If that is its history, it will be seen that the changes are in line with the tendency of Harvey's criticism. Let us first observe the number of ideas common to the two poems.

First, we have in Mutability at least a trace of the conception of Chaos that appears in the Garden of Adonis. In Mutability (canto vi, stanza 26) Earth is "great Chaos childe"; and from the Earth springs the infinitude of living forms (canto vii, stanzas 17-18):

> And first the Earth, (great mother of us all)
> That only seems unmov'd and permanent,
> And unto Mutability not thrall;
> Yet is she chang'd in part, and eeke in generall.
>
> For all that from her springs, and is ybredde,
> How-euer fayre it flourish for a time,
> Yet see we soone decay; and, being dead,
> To turne again unto their earthly slime:

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Yet, out of their decay and mortall crime,
We daily see new creatures to arize;
And of their Winter spring another Prime,
Unlike in forme, and chang'd by strange disguise:
So turne they still about, and change in restless wise.

Now, in the Garden of Adonis (III, vi, 36), Chaos, instead of being mother of Earth, is within the Earth's "wide womb," and supplies the substance for the living forms, as did Earth in Mutability:

Daily they grow, and daily forth are sent
Into the world, it to replenish more;
Yet is the stocke not lessened, nor spent,
But still remaines in euerlasting store,
As it at first created was of yore.
For in the wide wombe of the world there lyes,
In hatefull darkenesse and in deepe horrore,
An huge eternall Chaos, which supplyes
The substances of natures fruitfull progenyes.

Stanza 18 of Mutability (quoted above) clearly suggests the eternity of the substance along with the shift of form. This idea of eternal substance is further developed in the stanza following that on Chaos just quoted from the Garden of Adonis (*i. e.*, stanza 37):

All things from thence doe their first being fetch,
And borrow matter, whereof they are made,
Which when as forme and feature it does ketch,
Becomes a bodie, and doth then inuade
The state of life, out of the griesly shade.
That substance is eterne, and bideth so,
Ne when the life decayes, and forme does fade,
Doth it consume, and into nothing go,
But chaunged is, and often altred to and fro.

The substance is not chaunged, nor altered,
But th' only forme and outward fashion;
For euery substance is conditioned
To change her hew, and sundry formes to don,
Meet for her temper and complexion:
For formes are variable and decay,
By course of kind, and by occasion.

Out of the elemental and eternal substance are developed an infinity of living shapes or forms, an endless procession of life,

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created, decaying, re-created in new forms. In Mutability this wheel of life is the initial theme (st. 1):

> What man that sees the ever-whirling wheele
> Of Change, the which all mortall things doth sway,
> But that therby doth find, and plainly feele,
> How Mutability in them doth play
> Her cruel sports, to many mens decay?

And stanza 18, quoted above, carries further the conception of the circle or wheel of Change, as seen in the endless procession of forms.

The Garden of Adonis likewise gives us, in two successive stanzas, (III, vi, 32 and 33) the endless procession of life returning whence it came, and the wheel of change. Old Genius is the porter of the Garden of Adonis.

> He letteth in, he letteth out to wend,
> All that to come into the world desire;
> A thousand thousand naked babes attend
> About him day and night, which doe require,
> That he with fleshly weedes would them attire:
> Such as him list, such as eternall fate
> Ordained hath, he clothes with sinfull mire,
> And sendeth forth to liue in mortall state,
> Till they againe returne backe by the hinder gate.

> After that they againe returned beene,
> They in that Gardin planted be againe;
> And grow afresh, as they had neuer seene
> Fleshly corruption, nor mortall paine.
> Some thousand yeares so doen they there remaine;
> And then of him are clad with other hew,
> Or sent into the chaungefull world againe,
> Till thither they returne, where first they grew:
> So like a wheele around they runne from old to new.

In both Mutability and the Garden of Adonis, Death came into the world not by sin, but through Mutability. And Mutability is Change in time. Time is the great enemy, the destroyer of the forms. In Mutability (canto vii, stanza 47), the Titaness says to Nature:

> For who sees not that Time on all doth pray?
> But Times do change and move continually.
> So nothing here long standeth in one stay:
> Wherefore this lower world who can deny
> But to be subject still to Mutabilitie?

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And Jove admits,

> And all things else that under heaven dwell
> Are chang'd of Time, who doth them all disseise
> Of being.

Similarly, in the Garden of Adonis (III, vi, 39-40) Time is the enemy of all the forms of life:

> Great enimy to it, and to all the rest,
> That in the Gardin of Adonis springs,
> Is wicked Time, who with his scyth addrest,
> Does mow the flowring herbes and goodly things,
> And all their glory to the ground downe flings,
> Where they doe wither, and are fowly mard:
> He flyes about, and with his flaggy wings
> Beats downe both leaues and buds without regard,
> Ne euer pittie may relent his malice hard.
>
> Yet pittie often did the gods relent,
> To see so faire things mard, and spoyled quight:
> And their great mother Venus did lament
> The loss of her deare brood, her deare delight:
> Her heart was pierst with pittie at the sight,
> When walking through the Gardin, them she spyde,
> Yet no'te she find redresse for such despight.
> For all that liues, is subject to that law:
> All things decay in time, and to their end do draw.

With the great multiplicity of forms, the stock of creatures would quite overcrowd the place but for a ruling principle, of Order, which appears in both Mutability and the Garden of Adonis. In Mutability (canto vii, stanza 4):

> And had not Natures Sergeant (that is Order)
> Them well disposed by his busie paine,
> And raunged farre abroad in every border,
> They would have caused much confusion and disorder.

Again, in stanza 27, Nature bids Order call before her the times and seasons in their due succession. Order as a guiding principle in the succession of forms appears in the Garden of Adonis (III, vi, 35):

> Infinite shapes of creatures there are bred,
> And uncouth formes, which none yet euer knew,
> And euery sorte is in a sundry bed
> Set by itselfe, and ranckt in comely rew.

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The only hopeful ideas in Mutability are: this principle of Order in Nature, and the judgment pronounced by Nature at the close, setting forth the hope of progressive changes through better forms, and, after this 'working their own perfection' in time has ceased, rest from change in eternity (canto vii, stanzas 58, 59):

> They are not changed from their first estate;
> But by their change their being doe dilate:
> And turning to themselves at length againe,
> Do worke their owne perfection so by fate:
> Then over them Change doth not rule and raigne:
> But they raigne ouer change, and doe their states maintaine.
> . . . . . .
> But time shall come that all shall changed bee,
> And from thenceforth, none no more change shall see.

The promise of rest in eternity is glimpsed in the *Complaints* volume, as we have seen, in the final sonnet. The progress of forms toward perfection does not appear in Adonis. But the eternity of the life principle is preserved and elaborated. That this is carried over from Mutability is suggested by the wording at III, vi, 47, on Adonis as the father of life:

> All be he subject to mortalitie,
> Yet is eterne in mutabilitie,
> And by succession made perpetuall.
> Transformed oft, and chaunged diuerslie:
> For him the Father of all formes they call;
> Therefore needs mote he liue, that living gives to all.

It will readily be observed that in Mutability the poet's mind is dwelling more on change, decay, and death, than on constancy or eternal life. Whether because of the savage criticism of his mood by Harvey or whether of his own accord, in the Garden of Adonis, he shifts the emphasis to the eternity of the life principle as figured in Adonis. Adonis is probably an outgrowth of the conception of Life as contrasted with Death in Mutability (canto vii, stanza 46):

> But Life was like a fair young lusty boy,
> Such as they faine Dan Cupid to have beene,
> Full of delightfull health and liuely joy,
> Deckt all with flowres, and wings of gold fit to employ.

The treatment here is quite conventional, and has no vital significance in the poem of Mutability. In the Garden of Adonis, Life is

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not Cupid, but he is a fair lusty boy; and at the close of the account we have Cupid "playing his wanton parts" with Adonis:

> There now he [Adonis] liues in euerlasting ioy,
> With many of the Gods in company,
> Which thither haunt, and with the winged boy
> Sporting himselfe in safe felicity:
> Who when he hath with spoiles and cruelty
> Ransackt the world, and in the wofull harts
> Of many wretches set his triumphes hye,
> Thither resorts, and laying his sad darts
> Aside, with faire Adonis playes his wanton parts.
>
> And his true loue faire Psyche with him playes,
> Faire Psyche to him lately reconcyld,
> After long troubles and unmeet upbrayes,
> With which his mother Venus her reuyld,
> And eke himselfe her cruelly exyld:
> But now in stedfast loue and happy state
> She with him liues, and hath him borne a chyld,
> Pleasure, that doth both gods and men aggrate,
> Pleasure, the daughter of Cupid and Psyche late.

The emphasis is thus shifted from death to life, from decay to re-creation. But that is not the only change from the mood that Harvey criticised. Cupid for Spenser usually means wanton love, or at least love of the senses.[19] And we close this reconstructed philosophy of life and death with Psyche reconciling herself to Cupid and bearing him a child, *Pleasure*. Very "chereful cheriping" this, in comparison with the ending of Mutability with its impressive prayer for eternal rest. No doubt Harvey would regard the Garden of Adonis as much better than Mutability. It is far more concrete, sensuous, positive, a little clearer as to philosophic conceptions, and much easier to read because of its story form. Whereas the Mutability cantos show the influence chiefly of the Stoic philosophers, the Garden of Adonis more nearly lines up with the Epicureans. Many of the same ideas recur, but with a

[19] In *Colin Clout*, 855 *et passim*, Cupid is more dignified, having there somewhat the function of Adonis in the Garden of Adonis, that of the life-giving principle. It will be noted that the account of the creation of the world and of its forms in *Colin Clout* is reminiscent of that in the Garden of Adonis, but that there is added another old philosophic notion, of the "loves" of the elements as explaining gravitation, the behavior of cold and heat, fire and water, etc., in lines 841 ff.

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new tone and emphasis. The Garden of Adonis would doubtless please the circle of "honest quaffers" dominated by Harvey.

The effect of Harvey's criticism, whether it reached Spenser in the exact form in which we find it in the elaborate commentary in his notebook, or whether he rewrote it before returning the manuscript of Spenser's poem, seems to have been an unwillingness to publish the cantos of Mutability. But, with faith in parts of his material, Spenser determined to salvage as much as possible. He apparently substituted an entirely new book on Irish affairs, but carried over into it the ideas of the eleven prefatory stanzas from matter in Mutability, as well as something of his abstract notion of Constancy in connection with Justice in Irish policies (an idea which becomes clearer upon reading the *View of Ireland* in connection with Book V of *The Faerie Queene*). The largest use of matter from Mutability is in the Garden of Adonis, but here the mood and tone are new. The fine conclusion of Mutability was used to cap off the *Complaints* volume of 1590-91, in the final sonnet. In this reworking of Mutability we lose a few good ideas and a number of trite ones, such as the seasons pageant (which is good but old), and the handling of the elements in detail, which, if anything in the poem, deserved a part of Harvey's fun-making. Where ideas from Mutability are reworked, they are often presented in more concrete forms, gaining in clearness and in sensuousness, but as often losing dignity and impressiveness. It is a question whether the omission of the Cantos of Mutability does great damage to *The Faerie Queene* as a story-telling poem; a question also whether, if Spenser became clearer, more concrete, and more given to the use of material drawn from the physical senses, as the result of a brush with Harvey's material-mindedness, any great harm was done to Spenser by this rough and, at first appearance, baneful criticism. For the extremely sensuous passages are episodic, and they are often worthy of praise on æsthetic grounds. They do not destroy the impression that Spenser was a poet of lofty idealism throughout his poetic career. If his feet are upon earth, his gaze is still upward bent.

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A NEW INTERPRETATION OF SPENSER'S *MUIOPOTMOS*

By Viola Blackburn Hulbert

I

There has been a tendency within recent years for investigators to interpret any piece of Elizabethan literature as a political or personal allegory. In view of this fact a scholar should look with a degree of scepticism at all allegorical interpretations of sixteenth century works and should be not over-eager in adopting them but rather ever mindful of the injunction, *festina lente*. There can be, however, little doubt in the minds of the unprejudiced that modern scholars are justified in finding in Spenser's *Muiopotmos* some kind of allegory—whether it be political, personal, or moral. Otherwise, the poem is foolish and pointless, for it is difficult to believe that Spenser in full maturity sat down and wrote sentimental lines on the death of a poor, silly fly. If the poem were a burlesque as Mr. Nadal [1] feels it to be, then there would be point to it. But many scholars can not see in *Muiopotmos* anything which would justify a critic in calling it a mock-epic. Its seriousness of tone has consequently led them to listen with indulgence to those [2] who advocate an allegorical interpretation as a way of giving meaning to what otherwise has hardly any reason for existence.

All modern interpretations of *Muiopotmos* must take into account an observation upon the poem made by George L. Craik in *Spenser and his Poetry*. Craik suggested that the poem might be a personal allegory and called attention to the introductory stanzas which in subject matter have little connection with the fable of the spider and the fly.[3] Since the time of Craik, Miss Lyon's interpretation

[1] Thomas William Nadal, "Spenser's *Muiopotmos* in Relation to Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* and *The Nun's Priest's Tale*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXV (1910), 640-56.

[2] For a history of the interpretations of the poem see Thomas William Nadal, *loc. cit.*; Jessie M. Lyons, "Spenser's *Muiopotmos* as an Allegory," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXI (1916), 90-113; John W. Draper, *The Colonnade*, XIV (1922), 37.

[3] George L. Craik, *Spenser and his Poetry* (1845), III, 172-180.

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of *Muiopotmos* has been the most widely accepted of all explanations of the poem, for it most fully takes into consideration Craik's comment upon the opening stanzas.[4]

Miss Lyons interprets the allegory of *Muiopotmos* by using the material of the two introductory stanzas as a clue to the identification of the characters figured in the rest of the poem as a butterfly and a spider.

> I sing of deadly dolorous debate,
> Stir'd up through wrathfull Nemesis despight,
> Betwixt two mightie ones of great estate,
> Drawne into armes, and proofe of mortall fight,
> Through prowd ambition, and hart-swelling hate,
> Whilest neither could the others greater might
> And sdeignfull scorne endure; that from small jarre
> Their wraths at length broke into open warre.
>
> The roote whereof and tragicall effect,
> Vouchsafe, O thou the mournfulst Muse of nyne!
> That wontst the tragick stage for to direct,
> In funeral complaints and waylfull tyne,
> Reveale to me, and all the meanes detect,
> Through which sad Clarion did at last decline
> To lowest wretchedness: And is there then
> Such rancour in the harts of mightie men?

To Miss Lyons the "dolorous debate" between two prominent persons "drawne into armes" is to be found in the jealous rivalry between Essex and Raleigh, which culminated in December, 1588, when the council stepped in to prevent a duel to which Essex challenged his rival. Were there no other thwarted duel recorded around this time than the one to which Essex summoned Raleigh, Miss Lyons's interpretation would remain unchallenged, even though it does not account for all the data within the poem and necessitates presupposing a court intrigue which there is little or no evidence to substantiate. But there was another interrupted duel: that to which Sir Philip Sidney challenged the Earl of Oxford; consequently, there is another possible explanation of Spenser's *Muiopotmos,* one which gives meaning to data Miss Lyons's interpretation is forced to ignore and one which is built on positive evidence of a court intrigue.

Any understanding of the allegory of *Muiopotmos* necessitates

[4] *Loc. cit.*

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at least an identification of the principal characters concerned and an interpretation of the situation figuratively described. Before we examine Miss Lyons's interpretation, let us take a detailed view of the data offered by the poem itself. The chief characters are Clarion, the butterfly, and Aragnoll, the spider. Of Clarion we learn that he is "the eldest sonne and haire of Muscaroll," a youth of such promise that his father hoped in him to find one worthy of his throne. The "yong flie" disdained "loathsome sloth"; he enjoyed ranging abroad. Although an inhabitant of a "lower tract," through swiftness of flight he dared "stie up to the clowdes." Before he reached the "gay gardins," he had evidently journeyed afar. In his outward appearance, Spenser dwells on the beauty of his armor and the wonder of his wings. Aragnoll, on the other hand, is not outwardly described. In character he is a "greisly tyrant," "a grimme Lyon," a "wily Foxe," an expert weaver of webs with whom none

> **Might in their divers cunning ever dare**
> **With this so curious networke to compare.**

The situation of the poem is described in the prologue as a debate which evidently culminated in armed strife between "two mightie ones of great estate." The character of the opponents was such that "neither could the others greater might and sdeignfull scorne endure." The occasion would seem to have been small, but the hostility grew until at last it was openly expressed. The allegory proper develops "the roote" and the "tragicall effect" of the "open warre." "The roote" of the hostility lies in the envious character of Aragnoll, who strives to avenge his mother's wrong; the "tragicall effect" is the death of the "yong flie," caught in the web and killed by the spider.

According to Miss Lyons, Clarion is Sir Walter Raleigh; Aragnoll, the Earl of Essex. Hooker, who traces Raleigh's genealogy back to the Plantaganets through the house of Clare, may give both the source of the name Clarion and a figurative meaning to the royal heritage to which Muscaroll hopes his son will succeed. Moreover, Hooker's description of Raleigh's arms "white colour or silver" is paralleled by the wings of Clarion "silver bright." Spenser probably knew Raleigh's love of armor, his delight in brilliant stones and rich stuffs and armed the butterfly antagonist in suitable fashion with wings which had a thousand colours

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bejewelled like the heavens. Also the adventures of the butterfly recall the general aspects of Raleigh's life. Like young Clarion, he early armed himself for adventure, which carried him on "streaming rivers" and against the "troublous winde" until at last in December, 1581, "unstaid desire" brought him to court. Here he enjoyed the Queen's favor until in 1587 a rival, the young Earl of Essex, appeared. The latter was used as the tool of Raleigh's envious enemies as they spun their spider web.

The armed strife of the introduction of the poem is the duel to which Essex challenged Raleigh and which in December, 1588, the Council prevented. But in the spring of the following year Essex succeeded in driving Raleigh to Ireland.

> . . . There Spenser, in the intimate conversations of the visits, learned Raleigh's side of the matter, of which he had doubtless heard before. And we may imagine him, on his entrance to the Court circle with Sir Walter (November, 1589), a sympathetic but curious observer of the situation, anxious indeed to find the source of his friend's distresses. The cause he found quickly, as the story of *Muiopotmos* clearly tells, in the hateful envy of Raleigh's rivals, of whom the young Earl of Essex was the tool. But envy does not kill physically and the tragic fate of Clarion in the web of Aragnoll figures, or more accurately prefigures, not the real "death of a young courtier," but the fateful career of Sir Walter Raleigh in "the gardins" of the Court, where he was the prey of a virulent envy which even at this time may be regarded as fully operative and marked by inevitableness.[5]

Miss Lyons's interpretation also attempts to explain why *Muiopotmus* is dated on its title page 1590, although it is contained in the volume of *Complaints,* dated 1591. She accepts Mr. Craik's conjectural explanations of the date 1590: that 1590 was a better date than 1591 to refer to the "real events" of the poem. More definitely Miss Lyons fixes the date of its composition:

> Indeed, early 1590, if not late 1589, would seem to be the most significant time for its composition. After the Earl of Essex's temporary fall from favor because of his secret marriage in April, 1590, Sir Walter Raleigh was, till his own downfall because of his marriage in 1592, in very good favor with the Queen and uppermost at Court, at least during the few months of Essex's retirement.[6]

From the foregoing summary of Miss Lyons's article it will be

[5] *Op. cit.*, *P. M. L. A.* XXXI (1916), 97-8.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

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noticed that in her identification of Clarion with Raleigh she failed to explain:

> . . . Clarion, *the eldest sonne and haire*
> Of Muscaroll . . .

Raleigh was neither the eldest son nor the heir of Raleigh senior. Rather he was the second son of a third wife; he had, moreover, two half-brothers by his father's first wife. John Raleigh (d. 1629), the second son by the first wife, inherited at the father's death (about 1581) the estate at Fardell near Plymouth. It is true, however, that Raleigh rightly considered himself connected with the house of Clare. The similarity between the names of Clare and Clarion is so striking that it is a seductive temptation to accept on that ground alone Raleigh as the "butterfly of fortune." Of the trustworthiness of the parallelism between Raleigh's dress and the armour of the butterfly there is more doubt. The silver wings with their myriad colors are perhaps but part of the butterfly's garniture created in the same spirit of fantasy as his unspotted shield, the hairy top of his body, the queer shaped helmet with room for the projecting horns.

It is impossible to say how Raleigh's life previous to 1590 appeared to Spenser. It was one, however, of fighting amid the ferocities of the Hugenot war, of privateering with Gilbert, and of slaughtering in Ireland. At the Smerwich Massacre in 1580 Raleigh and Macworth, under orders from Grey, put to the sword four hundred Spaniards and Italians, and here it was that Spenser, in the capacity of Lord Grey's secretary, had probably his first view of Sir Walter. Such in brief is Raleigh's life previous to his entrance into court in 1581.

By 1590, the assumed date of the composition of *Muiopotmos*, Raleigh was thirty-eight years old. In the interval he had been consulted by the Queen on Irish affairs, had brought a semblance of justice into the Stannaries of Devon and Cornwall, had held the offices of Lieutenant of Cornwall and Vice-Admiral of the two counties, of Captain of the Queen's Guard, had been a member of the Armada Council of War, and had received monopolies and land in England, Ireland, and America.[7] In 1590, Raleigh may have appeared as a "fresh yong flie" to Spenser—that no one can

[7] Details of life taken from William Stebbing, *Sir Walter Ralegh* (1891), and Edward Edwards, *The Life of Sir Walter Ralegh* (1868), Vol. I.

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deny; but he would not have to the average Elizabethan (who aged much earlier than does a modern man), any more than he would to the average man of today.

In passing from Raleigh to Essex, we note that there is nothing in the character of the latter which could make him a possible Aragnoll. The Earl of Clarendon even denies him the suave diplomacy of a courtier:

> For however the Arts and mysteries of a Court are undefinable, yet as in the reformation and improvement of the Sciences, there are certain principles and maximes unalterable and unquestionable, so there is a certain comparity, conformity, and complacency in the manners and a discreet subtility in the composition, without which (as with those principles) no man in any Age or Court shall be eminent in the Aulical function.
>
> Now how ill the Earl was read in this Philosophy, his servant Cuffe (whose observations were sharp enough, whatever Stoicisms raved in his nature) well discerned, when he said, Amorem & odium semper in fronte gessit, nec celare novit . . .
>
> And indeed, I do not find that the Earl much inclined to, or desired the reputation of a Courtier, besides the preservation of himself, and the Queens affection (which yet he endeavoured rather to master, than to win); but he seemed, though he had such places of honour and attendance as be the most significant badges of a Courtier, but in pace belli gerere negotium, and retired only from War to prevent peace.[8]

Clarendon's information about Essex, to be sure, is but second hand; yet it is borne out by the exploits of Essex's early years. As an impetuous boy of ten, it is recorded that he impudently refused to kiss the Queen.[9] His lack of "complacency" in manners increased with time. In a letter to Edward Dyer (July 21, 1587 [?]) he reported that he had openly insulted Raleigh, attributing to the latter Elizabeth's instigation for slighting his sister.[10] With the same arrogant spirit he picked a quarrel with Sir William Blount, who flaunted one of the Queen's chessmen as a talisman.[11] Essex was worsted in the duel which followed. When the report came to the Queen's ears, she declared: "By God's death, it were fitting some one should take him down and teach

[8] Sir Henry Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1685), pp. 186-7.

[9] In a letter from Mr. Broughton to Mr. Bagot. Walter Bourchier Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex* (1853), I, 169, 170.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 186-8.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 193, 194, 205.

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him better manners or there were no rule with him."[12] It would seem from a study of Essex's character, that it was rather this pugnacious vanity which led him to challenge Raleigh in December, 1588, than the "discreet subtility" which should mark a courtier. At least the Council thought so, for they tried to keep the news from the Queen "that it might not be known to her Majesty, lest it might injure the Earl."[13] The quarrel need not be taken as evidence that a plot was in actual operation against Raleigh. Essex was easily inflamed; his vanity was ever ready to be wounded. In fact, it must have suffered greatly when he contrasted the parts he and Raleigh played in the defeat of the Spanish Armada. The jubilee, moreover, held November 24,[14] a short time, it is to be noticed, before the Raleigh-Essex quarrel, probably renewed Essex's jealous envy. I have no doubt that the immediate cause of Essex's challenge of Raleigh was of little more importance than that which provoked him earlier into a duel with Blount; the ultimate cause might easily have been his well-founded jealousy at the distinction Raleigh won as a statesman and as a soldier in the overthrow of the Spanish Armada. One can then find in Essex's own character a ready explanation of the quarrel; one need not suppose it was brought about by Raleigh's intriguing enemies who used Essex as their tool.

Essex was the type of youth who sow proverbial wild oats. As early as 1582, he asked Burghley's forgiveness for his extravagance,[15] a plea which showed how innate were his habits of prodigality. In 1585, he was reprimanded by his grandfather for the lavish amount he unnecessarily spent to equip his own troops[16] to accompany Leicester to Holland. His debts were so great by 1589 that he escaped from court to retrieve them on the Portugal expedition.[17] Failing, he was forced to sell his manor of Keyston, Huntingdonshire, in June, 1590, to repay the Queen £3000.[18] This lack of restraint is the keynote of Essex's character. With an impetuosity utterly divorced from diplomacy he asked King James

[12] Devereux, *op. cit.*, p. 194.
[13] Edmund Gosse, *Raleigh* (1886), p. 40.
[14] Patrick Fraser Tytler, *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1833), pp. 103-4.
[15] Essex to Burghley, December 13, 1582 (Devereux, *op. cit.*, p. 171).
[16] Knollys to Essex, November 14, 1585 (Devereux, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-9).
[17] Essex to Knollys, not dated (*Ibid.*, p. 206).
[18] Essex to Burghley, June 13, 1590 (*Ibid.*, p. 208).

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of Scotland to intercede with the Queen on Davison's behalf.[19] The young Earl, who distinguished himself by wading through billows up to his shoulders to be the first to land at Peniche and who, upon departing, left his pike in Lisbon gate with a challenge to any Spaniard who should venture forth to break a lance with him for his mistress,[20] was a figure of burlesque romance rather than an astute schemer of the Machiavellian school. Essex in vanity and willfulness might well be likened to a peacock; but as history at least has recorded him, he is not like a lurking spider, skilled in weaving a "cursed cobweb" of court intrigue.

To be sure, Miss Lyons does not directly identify the Earl of Essex with the spider. She surmises that the Earl is but the tool of Raleigh's rivals; perhaps she means to imply, then, that the spider is the personification of the envy which instigates Raleigh's enemies as they spread their snares. If such is her conjecture, she bases it, I judge, upon some such statement as the following made by Mr. Stebbing: "When Hatton was out of date, the courtiers combined to set up Essex against him, and had the assistance of the multitude in their tactics."[21] Mr. Stebbing, however, gives no evidence to prove there was the intrigue Miss Lyons presupposes, nor have I as yet found any proof that one existed.

It is true that Sir Walter Raleigh was heartily disliked, for Anthony Bagot, an attaché of Essex, writes to his father: "Sir Walter Raleigh, he is the hated man of the world, in court, city and country."[22] Yet when we consider that, two months before this letter, Raleigh had been granted additional lands in Ireland and the whole Babington estate which consisted of property in five English counties and practically all of Babington's personal goods,[23] we can easily understand the reason for Raleigh's sudden unpopularity. Moreover, a letter from Essex to Dyer July 21, 1587,[24] shows that the Queen was far from sharing the world's attitude. From the summer of 1587 to December, 1588,[25] there is also evidence to show that Raleigh's position at court increased rather

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 202-4.
[21] Stebbing, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
[22] May, 1587. Devereux, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
[23] Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Stebbing, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-9.
[24] Devereux, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-8.
[25] I. A. Taylor, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (1905), pp. 46 ff.

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than decreased in power and in importance. And after December, 1588, until June, 1590 (the approximate date of Essex's retirement from court on account of his marriage), there is little proof that the hatred of the multitude succeeded in advancing Essex or in harming Raleigh in the eyes of the Queen to such an extent that Raleigh's friends could have had any cause to fear on the latter's behalf.

In fact, if Essex's career between December, 1588, and June, 1590, be carefully examined, there is no striking evidence that he is in high favor with the Queen. The Council, December, 1588, it will be remembered, prevented the duel lest "it might injure the Earl." In April, 1589, Essex incurred the Queen's wrath by escaping from court on the Portugal expedition;[26] in June he returned. In October he besought the Queen for six months' grace to repay her loan of £3000.[27] In April of the next year, 1590, he failed to obtain the secretaryship for Davison.[28] In June, he was forced to sell Keyston Manor[29] to fulfill his bargain with the Queen, and probably soon after was in disgrace because of his marriage. The only positive sign of the Queen's favoritism during this time is a grant, May, 1590, by which he was to succeed Leicester in the "farm of sweet wines."[30]

Nor until August, 1589, have we any evidence of Raleigh's being in disfavor. In spite of the fact that May sees him in Ireland and that his name does not appear on the official report of the expedition which arrived home in June, he had some connection with the latter.[31] A letter of Sir Roger Williams indicates that a quarrel

[26] The Queen to Essex, April 15, 1589 (Devereux, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-5).

[27] Essex to the Queen, October 7, 1589 [?] (Devereux, *op. cit.*, p. 207).

[28] Essex to Davison, undated (*Ibid.*, pp. 209-10).

[29] Essex to Burghley, June 13, 1590 (*Ibid.*, p. 208).

[30] Essex to Burghley, May 15, 1590 (*Ibid.*, pp. 208-9).

[31] The *D. N. B.* denies that Raleigh had anything to do with the Portugal expedition because the official reports do not contain his name and because documents show him to have been in Ireland May, August, and September, 1589. Such evidence does not prove that he was not in England during June and July. Edwards (*op. cit.*, pp. 115-6) gives proof that Raleigh was engaged financially or personally in some privateering enterprise in 1589. William Oldys (*Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 1736, prefixed to his edition of Raleigh's *History of the World*, pp. 49-50) cites in part the letter of Williams which points to Raleigh's having some connection with the expedition and to his probable residence in London in June.

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arose between Williams and Raleigh over the booty of the expedition; that the Queen had favored Raleigh in the quarrel, giving him and others gold chains as a sign of grace, but had failed to reward Williams in like fashion.[32] Then comes August, 1589. In August, Sir Francis Allen informed Anthony Bacon: "My Lord of Essex has chased Mr. Ralegh from the court." [33] A few weeks before this incident the Queen had refused Raleigh a suit which he had proffered for the Earl of Pembroke.[34] The refusal may be a sign of Elizabeth's disapproval either of the matter presented or of the presenter. I should judge it more likely to be the former; for surely Pembroke would not have chosen Raleigh as mediator if, as a member of the court, he had any inkling that Sir Walter was in the slightest degree in the Queen's bad graces. The date of the letter of Sir Francis Allen, telling that Essex had driven Raleigh out of court, is August 17, 1589. Considering that the letter is addressed to Anthony Bacon, who subsequently handled Essex's foreign correspondence,[35] we can not look upon it as an unprejudiced judgment. To be sure a passage of three lines in *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* would seem to give some ground to Raleigh's rumored disfavor with the Queen. Yet since Renaissance literature abounds in hard-hearted ladies debarring their knights from their favors, one cannot argue much from these lines, particularly when we consider that in a letter to Carew the following December, Raleigh expressly stated that he went to Ireland to set his Irish estates in order. In it he makes no mention whatsoever of Essex. In view of the letter to Carew, were I to interpret the lines of *Colin Clouts Come Home Again,* I should say that the cause of the Queen's coldness was some dispute which had arisen rather between Sir William Fitzwilliams and Raleigh than between Essex and Raleigh.[36]

Raleigh's retirement, whether compulsory or voluntary, was not long. When Raleigh returned to court, November, 1589, he was, moreover, greeted graciously and even anticipated such treatment; for he brought with him Spenser, who hoped for great things from

[32] Oldys, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50, note.

[33] Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[34] Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 119 (documented). The Rangership of the New Forest, the subject of the suit, was granted to Blount, and the decision cannot therefore be considered favorable to Essex.

[35] Stebbing, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[36] Stebbing, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

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Sir Walter's patronage, and who was well received at court. In December, 1589, Raleigh affirmed "that nearness to her Majesty which I still enjoy."[37] The following months of the year 1589 Raleigh's biographers do not chronicle; in June of the following year Essex was in disgrace.

An investigation of the Raleigh-Essex relations during this period brings then nothing to light which can be definitely construed as an intrigue against Raleigh. After the thwarted duel until the time of his exile, Essex did not enjoy such marked royal favor that we can safely deduce that he was basking in the Queen's good graces. It is dubious whether Raleigh's exile was forced or voluntary. As it is, it lasted only a few months, and he returned to court as if he had no doubt as to the nature of his reception. Moreover, as far as can be judged from the extant data, Spenser, between his arrival at court and the withdrawal of Essex, did not see anything which indicated a marked ascendency of the latter over Raleigh.

In short, although I realize the elastic character of an allegory, I do not see, as far as the records of history can be utilized, how the Raleigh-Essex hypothesis interprets fully either the characters or the situation of the *Muiopotmos*. Raleigh was not the eldest son and heir of his father; there is no evidence of the closeness of relation between him and his father which the poem would seem to ncessitate. He may be the young butterfly; but he is, at the time of the supposed composition of the poem, a man of thirty-eight, a veteran of numerous campaigns and a tried statesman. In 1589, Essex was about twenty-three years of age, and neither his character nor his years would make appropriate the epithets "greisly tyrant," "grimme Lyon," or "wily Foxe." If the spider is not Essex, but the personified jealousy of Raleigh's plotting rivals, there ought to be at least more evidence of a plot before it can be stated as a fact.

II

I propose to substitute for the Raleigh-Essex dispute the Sidney-Oxford quarrel. In 1579 before Spenser left for Ireland, an anticipated duel to which the Earl of Oxford challenged Sir Philip Sidney disturbed court circles. Oxford, the unscrupulous son-in-law of

[37] Raleigh to Carew (Stebbing, *op. cit.*, p. 70).

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Burghley, had definitely allied himself with the French faction at court, which advocated Elizabeth's marriage with Alençon; Sidney was of the party which opposed the alliance. One day in September, 1579, Oxford encountered Sidney on the tennis court, without provocation insulted him, and, in spite of Sidney's dignified effort to maintain peace, provoked him into a reply that was virtually a challenge to a duel. In the meantime, the French faction had gathered in the windows above the court so that all the on-lookers realized that Oxford intended the scene to have a political significance. As days passed on and the matter grew more and more important, Sidney's friends must have been quite fearful as to what would be its outcome for him; they anticipated even his murder.

The quarrel on the tennis court so affected Lord Brook that he recorded it at great length in his life of his friend:

> And in this freedome of heart being one day at Tennis, a Peer of this Realm, born great, greater by alliance, and superlative in the Princes favour, abruptly came into the Tennis Court; and speaking out of these three paramount authorities, he forgot to entreat that, which he could not legally command. When by the encounter of a steady object, finding unrespectiveness in himself (though a great Lord) not respected by this Princely spirit, he grew to expostulate more roughly. The returns of which stile comming still from an understanding heart, that knew what was due to it self, and what it ought to others, seemed (through the mists of my Lords passions, swoln with the winde of his faction then reigning) to provoke in yeelding. Whereby, the lesse amazement or confusion of thoughts he stirred up in Sir Philip, the more shadowes this great Lords own mind was possessed with: till at last with rage (which is ever ill-disciplin'd) he commands them to depart the Court. To this Sir Philip temperately answers; that if his Lordship had been pleased to express desire in milder Characters, perchance he might have led out those, that he should now find would not be driven out with any scourge of fury. This answer (like a Bellows) blowing up the sparks of excess already kindled, made my Lord scornfully call Sir Philip by the name of Puppy. In which progress of heat, as the tempest grew more and more vehement within, so did their hearts breath out their perturbations in a more loud and shrill accent. The French Commissioners unfortunately had that day audience, in those private Galleries, whose windows looked into the Tennis-Court. They instantly drew all to this tumult: every sort of quarrels sorting well with their humors, especially this. Which Sir Philip perceiving, and rising with inward strength, by the prospect of a mighty faction against him, asked my Lord, with a loud voice, that which he had heard clearly enough before. Who (like an Echo, that still multiplies by reflexons) repeated this Epithet of Puppy the second time. Sir Philip resolving in one answer to conclude both the attentive hearers and passionate actor, gave my Lord a

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Lie, impossible (as he averred) to be retorted; in respect all the world knows, Puppies are gotten by Dogs, and Children by men.

Hereupon those glorious inequalities of Fortune in his Lordship were put to a kinde of pause, by a precious inequality of nature in this Gentleman. So that they both stood silent a while, like a dumb shew in a Tragedy; till Sir Philip sensible of his own wrong, the forrain, and factious spirits that attended; and yet, even in this question between him, and his superior, tender to his Countries honour; with some words of sharp accent, led the way abruptly out of the Tennis-Court; as if so unexpected an accident were not fit to be decided any farther in that place. Whereof the great Lord making another sense, continues his play, without any advantage of reputation. . . .

A day Sir Philip remains in suspense, when hearing nothing of, or from the Lord, he sends a Gentleman of worth to awake him out of his trance; wherein the French would assuredly think any pause, if not death, yet a lethargy of true honour in both. This stirred a resolution in his Lordship to send Sir Philip a Challenge. Notwithstanding, these thoughts in the great Lord wandred so long between glory, anger and inequality of state, as the Lords of her Majesties Counsell took notice of the differences, commanded peace, and laboured a reconciliation between them. But needlesley in one respect, and bootlesly in another. The great Lord being (as it should seem) either not hasty to adventure many inequalities against one, or inwardly satisfied with the progress of his own Acts: Sir Philip on the other side confident, he neither had nor would lose, or let fall anything of his right. Which her Majesties Counsell quickly perceiving, recommended this work to her self.

The Queen, who saw that by the loss, or disgrace of either, she could gain nothing, presently undertakes Sir Philip; and (like an excellent Monarch) lays before him the difference in degree between Earls and Gentlemen; the respect inferiors ought to their superiors; and the necessity in Princes to maintain their own creations. . . .

Whereunto Sir Philip, with such reverence as became him, replyed: First, that place was never intended for privilege to wrong. . . . Again, he besought her Majesty to consider, that although he were a great Lord by birth, alliance, and grace; yet hee was no Lord over him: and therefore the difference of degree between free men, could not challenge any other homage than prècedency. . . .[38]

Bourne in his life of Sidney shows that the situation developed a still more serious aspect:

The quarrel, however, did not end there. Not liking the contempt which he had brought upon himself, yet not brave enough to win back the world's esteem, either by courtly defiance or by manly apology, the Earl of Oxford

[38] Sir Fulke Grevil, *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney* (1907), pp. 48-52.

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is said to have hit upon a characteristic mode of retaliation, one which he considered to be "a safe course." If we may trust reports which we have from Philip, Earl of Arundel, his brother, Lord Henry Howard, and some other members of the party opposed to Oxford, he planned the secret murder of his antagonist. After much delay, he sent a messenger to Sidney, asking that their disagreement might be honourably ended, and received a very glad assent to the proposal. Thereby suspicion was removed from him, and opportunity given for a treacherous project. Under cover of night he was to visit Sidney's residence, probably the house at Paul's Wharf, there to kill him, as he lay asleep in bed, and then to make his own escape by a barge which was to be in waiting.[39]

By reason of its political associations, this dispute of Sidney's, insignificant in itself, appears to have acquired an European notoriety. Languet heard of it from various sources. . . . Prince Casimir sent to offer all the assistance in his power, towards bringing the dispute to a safe ending.

Sidney's conduct was considered to be not so much a bearding of Oxford, as a defiance of the whole French party, of which Oxford was the leader. In that light he himself regarded it.[40]

The quarrel between Oxford and Sidney occurred in September;[41] although the Queen took the latter to task for it, pointing out Oxford's higher rank, she could not induce him to move one whit from his dignified and brave position. In fact, he soon took a bolder step in defiance of the French faction. Some time after Christmas,[42] under instruction of those whom he thought he must obey,[43] he wrote his whole mind to Elizabeth on the subject of the proposed French match. As a result he remained seven months in exile in Wilton.

The whole situation admirably fits the allegory of *Muiopotmos:* the spinning of the web, the French intrigue; the fly, Sidney; its capture and death, the feared outcome of Oxford's treachery. The spider, however, I identify as Burghley, for I believe that he seemed one to Spenser for the following reasons. In the first place, there is no doubt that in some way the French faction was connected in gossip and perhaps even in actuality with Oxford's cowardly plans.

[39] H. R. Fox Bourne, *A Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney* (1862), p. 250; State Paper Office, Mss. *Domestic Correspondence, Elizabeth*, CLI, Nos. 45 and 57.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 247.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

[43] *The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, edited by William Aspenwall Bradley (1912), p. 206.

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Languet warned Sidney to guard himself against mishap at the hands of the French: "Since your adversary," he wrote on October 14, 1579, "has attached himself to Anjou's party, if your wooer shall return to you with a crowd of French noblemen about him, you must be on your guard, for you know the fiery nature of my countrymen." [44]

Professor Read thinks that Burghley favored the French alliance,[45] and undoubtedly Walsingham's party held a similar view. Consequently when feeling ran high and the news of the proposed murder came to the ears of Sidney's friends, they perhaps jumped to the conclusion that Burghley would stop at nothing to carry out his desire against theirs.

I have found no documented evidence that Burghley had anything to do with the proposed murder. But that lack does not mean that Walsingham's party held him innocent. In "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," Professor Greenlaw discusses the complicated nature of the French intrigue, quite web-like in its intricacy. He points out that Burghley's policy in regard to it is fox-like, and makes Burghley's attitude one of the reasons for identifying him with the fox in the *Mother Hubberd's Tale*.[46] It is entirely in keeping with Burghley's nature to have incited the Earl of Oxford to quarrel with Sir Philip Sidney as a little later he provoked Sussex to brawl with Leicester.[47] Burghley's craftiness, his policy in regard to the French marriage, his friendliness with the French faction, his relationship to Oxford would be the grounds on which Sidney's friends felt justified in connecting Burghley with the plot against Sidney's life.

In the year 1579, Spenser was at Leicester house under the patronage of the Earl of Leicester.[48] There he probably became intimate enough with Sidney to learn his views in regard to the French situation. During the spring months of 1580, Sir Henry

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

[45] Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (1925), II, 14, 18.

[46] Edwin A. Greenlaw, "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," *P. M. L. A.*, XXV (1910), 538-554.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 555.

[48] Spenser's letter to Harvey (*The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, Oxford Edition, 1924, p. 638).

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Sidney is known to have resorted to Wilton[49] both to see his daughter and son and perhaps to advise Lord Grey, whose estate was near by. It is not improbable that Spenser was at the house of Lord Grey awaiting his appointment and learning his duties as secretary to the latter, and there meeting the Sidneys, father and son, heard of the dangerous intricacies of the Oxford-Sidney quarrel, the outward aspects of which he already must have known.

There is no doubt that Sidney's friends regarded the matter with a sense of foreboding. From November, 1579, to May, 1580, Languet's letters show that he and Sidney were considering whether or not the latter ought to flee from England and in what country he would be safe from the hatred of Alençon and his party.[50] It does not seem likely that the dangers which Sidney's friends saw him facing would have failed to arouse Spenser. As Spenser satirized other aspects of the court situation of 1579-1580, he would surely have touched upon this aspect of it to show the French party and its arch-supporter planning the death of one of the most honourable and gentle figures in the English court.

Fulke Greville's report of the situation in no way contradicts Spenser's synopsis of the circumstances which occasioned *Muiopotmos:*

> I sing of deadly dolorous debate,
> Stir'd up through wrathfull Nemesis despight,
> Betwixt two mightie ones of great estate,
> Drawne into armes, and proofe of mortall fight
> Through prowd ambition, and hart-swelling hate,
> Whilest neither could the others greater might
> And sdeignful scorne endure; that from small jarre
> Their wraths at length broke into open warre.

The "debate" is the quarrel in the tennis court; the "two mightie ones of great estate" are Sidney and Oxford; the "proofe of mortall fight" is the challenge. The character of the two opponents, which was such that

> . . . neither could the others greater might
> And sdeignful scorne endure . . .

is paralleled in Lord Brook's account by the pride of Oxford in his

[49] *Letters and Memorials of State*, edited by Arthur Collins (1746), I, 274.

[50] *Correspondence*, pp. 183-200.

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rank, of Sidney in his rights as a freeman, which brought about a situation so irreconcilable that even the Queen, to whom the Council at wits' end was forced to submit the facts of the case, could not break the deadlock between them. The "small jarre" recalls Grevil's designation of the quarrel: "so unexpected an accident"; the "open warre" is the definite stand Sidney took upon the arrival of the French Commissioners, for then he realized that the slight was more than a personal one and that he had "a mighty faction against him."

Philip Sidney in 1579 was but twenty-five years old, yet a figure known and loved world-wide. He was the oldest son and heir of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland; the relations of father and son were very close. Philip made openly manifest to the court his love for his father in 1577 by his answer to his father's critics, in which he loyally defended Sir Henry's Irish policy.[51] Sidney, senior, reciprocated this affection. In Lord Brook's hearing, Sir Henry designated his eldest son as the "lumen familae suae."[52] In a letter to his younger son, Robert, in 1578, he styles the older brother as one who "hathe the most rare Vertues that ever I found in any Man."[53]

Sir Henry had good cause to be proud of his son. From the time that he was eighteen years old to his death at the age of thirty-two, Sir Philip's career is unparalleled in splendor. At eighteen, in the company of the Earl of Lincoln, Sidney sojourned in Paris. There the King bestowed upon him the title of Baron and made him Gentleman-in-Ordinary of the Royal Bed Chamber. Henry of Navarre, we are told by Fulke Greville, treated him as an equal and a friend. Hubert Languet, whom he met at Frankfort, regarded him as his foster son. In Venice he was magnificently entertained by Venetian merchants, and came to know the Italian painters, Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese, the latter of whom painted his portrait. "When he returned to Vienna from Venice there was talk of his offering himself as a candidate for a European throne—the vacant throne of Poland—which was filled by electoral vote."[54] In Heidelberg he bore a letter to Count Witgenstein;

[51] Collins, *op. cit.*, I, 228.

[52] Grevil, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[53] Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

[54] The sentence I have designated I have quoted verbatim from Sir Sidney

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there he met the famous Henri Étienne. He returned home early in June, 1575.

Two years later he again ventured abroad, this time as an ambassador to convey condolences and congratulations to the Elector Palatine, Lewis of Heidelberg, and to the Emperor Rudolf II at Prague. He also obtained leave to confer with the protestant powers of Europe. His progress was pompous. Over the houses in which he lodged he had fixed a tablet bearing his arms and announcing:

> Illustrissimi et Generosissimi Viri
> Philippi Sidnaei Angli,
> Pro-regis Hiberniae filii, Comitum Warwici
> Et Leicestriae Nepotis, Serenissimi
> Reginae Angliae ad Caesarem Legati.[55]

At Heidelberg he held friendly intercourse with John Casimir; at Prague he unsuccessfully urged the Emperor to form a league against Spain and Rome. Arriving in the Low Countries, he paid his respects to Don John of Austria, who was then at Louvain. The latter, according to the report of Lord Brook, was greatly impressed by the young English gentleman, who accosted him with a freedom of bearing [56] which recalls Clarion, who

> . . . walkt at will, and wandred too and fro,
> In the pride of his freedome principall.

At Antwerp, William of Orange invited Sidney to be god-father to his young son, and proclaimed him the most promising statesman of Europe.

In Sidney's journeying,

> . . . all the countrey wide he did possesse
> Feeding upon their pleasures bounteouslie.

When he arrived in England the summer of 1577, he had indeed "dared to stie up to the clowdes" from his "lower tract." Walsingham wrote to Sir Henry Sidney in Ireland: "There hathe not

Lee, *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century* (1904), p. 74. With a few exceptions, most of the other details of this paragraph and the one following are taken from Bourne, *op. cit.*, Chapters III and V.

[55] Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 100, of the introductory "Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys and their Noble Ancestors."

[56] Grevil, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5.

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ben any Gentleman, I am sure, these many Yeres, that hathe gone throughe so honorable a Charge with as great Commendacions as he."[57]

Surely to his father, Sir Philip must have seemed "of all alive . . . the fairest wight." His son's career, even when thus hastily surveyed, must have made Sir Henry feel much as Muscaroll did:

> With fruitfull hope his aged breast he fed
> Of future good, which his yong toward yeares,
> Full of brave courage and bold hardyhed,
> Above th'ensample of his equall peares,
> Did largely promise, and to him fore-red,
> (Whilst oft his heart did melt in tender teares)
> That he in time would sure prove such an one,
> As should be worthie of his fathers throne.

What is designated by "his fathers throne" I cannot fully decide. It may be that at Wilton, Spenser heard Sir Henry give voice to the only conditions under which he would ever accept reappointment to Ireland—stipulations which in 1582, when there was talk of reinstating him, he is reported to have openly declared. One of the several terms of acceptance was that he be called not Lord-Deputy but Lord-Lieutenant; another that Philip accompany him to Ireland and succeed him upon his retirement.[58]

If Sir Philip Sidney is a suitable Clarion, Lord Burghley is an admirable Aragnoll. The spider's lurking in his cave and spinning his web is comparable to Burghley's usual diplomatic methods. Mr. Hume notices that shortly before Alençon's arrival in London, Burghley, "true to his cautious nature . . . found an excuse for going into Northamptonshire."[59] His policy at this time was the same as that which he effectively employed at Mary's execution. Davison was commissioned to carry out the order; Burghley was absent on account of "illness."[60] In the *Muiopotmos,* as in the *Mother Hubberd's Tale,* he is "a wily Foxe." The epithet, "grimme Lyon" perhaps is a reference to his heraldic insignia.[61]

[57] Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[58] State Paper Office, *Mss. Irish Correspondence, Elizabeth,* XCII, No. 36 (cited by Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 354, note. Cf. Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-296).

[59] Martin A. S. Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley* (1898), p. 332, note.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 422.

[61] A. C. Fox-Davies, *The Geneology and Arms of the Cecils,* Part IV of

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In 1579, moreover, Burghley was fifty-nine years old. No one can deny to him the title "greisly tyrant" when he takes into consideration the fact that Burghley held a position of indisputable power from the very first year of Elizabeth's reign.

In brief, the characters of Sidney and Burghley fit those of the "fresh yong flie" and the wily spider. Sidney in years and in career, in the free independence of his character and in his known relationship with his father, makes a more suitable Clarion than does Raleigh, no longer young, a calloused man of arms, who was neither the eldest son nor the heir of his father. Burghley, the most subtle courtier in the Queen's court, at fifty-nine is a more convincing "greisly" spider than Essex at twenty-two, particularly since the latter had neither the talent nor the experience to manipulate a court plot. Moreover, in connection with the French situation we have a proposed duel which more fully interprets the opening stanza of *Muiopotmos* than does the Raleigh-Essex quarrel, in connection with which there is no definite proof that a court intrigue ever existed. If Raleigh's retirement from court was occasioned by the scheming of an Essex faction, which historically at this date is unrecorded, its plan was not successful enough to create any alarm in Raleigh's friends, for it did not leave Essex in high favor or banish Raleigh for long. Surely Raleigh's receptions upon his return from Ireland in the company of Spenser, as far as we can judge from extant facts, would not lead Spenser to predict such dire consequences as Raleigh's figurative death. Nor would such an interpretation of Raleigh's court position be happily received by the latter, who arrogantly affirms shortly after his return that he is far above Sir William Fitzwilliams both "by the honorable offices I hold, as also by that nireness to her Majestye which still I injoy."[62] On the other hand, there is definite information that the Oxford-Sidney quarrel was connected with an intrigue, and that it was thought that "the tragicall effect" might be the death of the "yong Clarion."

Although Spenser wrote the *Muiopotmos* shortly after his arrival

Historical Monograph, William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1904), 106 ff. This monograph (p. 37, pp. 50-2, pp. 64-5) shows that Burghley was very fond of laying out gardens for his various homes. Do the "gay gardins" refer to these?

[62] Sir Walter Raleigh to Sir George Carew, December 27, 1589 (Edwards, *op. cit.*, II, 42).

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in Ireland, at the same time in which he was working on his other allegories which satirized the court situation, he deferred its publication, as he did that of the others, until 1591. In 1591, Sidney was dead; Burghley in disfavor.[63] To Spenser it seemed a diplomatic occasion to publish the poem composed ten years before. To put before the court graphically Burghley's attitude toward the promising young Sidney, whose memory every courtier cherished, might perhaps be a means of increasing Burghley's unpopularity so that he would be kept lurking within his cave.

Chicago.

[63] Greenlaw, *op. cit.*, *P. M. L. A.* XXV (1910), p. 552. If the date 1590 on the title-page of the section of the *Complaints* containing *Muiopotmos* means that on that date the section was published separately, the argument in this paragraph is not pertinent to this particular poem.

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HALL'S SATIRES AND THE HARVEY-NASHE CONTROVERSY

By SANDFORD M. SALYER

Most of the editors of Joseph Hall's *Virgidemiarum* have concerned themselves with the classical allusions and imitative passages. They have been interested in the work chiefly on account of its importance as one of the first collections of English satires written under classical influence. There is, however, another and not less interesting problem involved. The evidence is considerable that the *Virgidemiarum* primarily, and the satires of Marston, Guilpin, Middleton, and John Davies of Hereford to a lesser degree, are the aftermath of the Harvey-Nashe pamphlet war. A suggestion to this effect was first made in 1910 by Dr. Konrad Schulze in his edition of Hall's Satires, but he adduced so few points of evidence and indulged in such fantastic interpretations of passages vital to the proof, that he failed to be convincing. Obviously he did not convince the most recent commentator on the matter, E. A. Beckwith, who believes that Schulze identifies Hall's Labeo with Nashe, because he "wishes to find a substitute for Marston as the man flagellated."[1] A thoughtful and careful reading of the *Satires* will reveal, however, that Schulze was correct in his main contention. Additional allusions to Nashe and Harvey, even more convincing than those he used, remain to be examined; and a clearer and more cogent interpretation of obscure bits may do much to clearify the whole matter.

Hall has been accused of lacking a motive in attacking Nashe. Surely Nashe's violation of literary and social decorum would have amply justified Hall's censure of him and his works, but a moment's thought on Hall's position and state of mind at this period will reveal additional motives.

Hall matriculated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1589. He received his B. A. degree in 1592 and the M. A. in 1596. In 1595 he was appointed Fellow, and later he held the Rhetoric lectureship in the University which Gabriel Harvey had held before him. There is every indication that during this period

[1] E. A. Beckwith, "On The Hall-Marston Controversy," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXV, 1, 84.

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Hall was strongly tempted to relinquish his ambitions for a church career and go in for literature. That the ordinary life of a churchman presented to him a prospect anything but pleasing is evident from one glimpse that he presents:

> **Fools! they may feed with words and live by air,**
> **That climb to honour by the pulpit's stair:**
> **Sit seven years pining in an anchore's chair,**
> **To win some patched shreds of minivere,**
> **And seven more plod at a patron's tail,**
> **To get a gelded chapel's cheaper sale.**[2]

Hall doubtless felt that, while safely ensconced in his fellowship, the way was open to him to test by anonymous publications his likelihood of literary success without endangering his chances of later taking orders, should he fail.

Spenser was Hall's literary idol. Hall's earliest poems, his pastorals, were a close imitation of *The Shepherd's Calendar*. *The Defiance to Envy* abounds not only in allusions to Spenser but in echoes of his lines. It can be proved that Spenser's *Tears of the Muses* inspired most of the critical estimates in the first book of the *Virgidemiarum*. Even the volume in which the latter was printed was dedicated to Spenser. If for no other reason than that Harvey was Spenser's friend Hall would have resented the tone of Nashe's pamphlets and would have applauded Harvey's replies. A championship of his cause offered to the youthful satirist the distinction of acquaintanceship (if he could not already boast of it) and the prospect of an introduction to the author of *The Faery Queen*.

But Hall may have been interested in Harvey for himself. The founder of Hall's college, Sir Walter Midmay, had been Harvey's patron.[3] Harvey had been one of Hall's predecessors in the Rhetoric lectureship. Sentimental considerations alone may have prompted the satirist to espouse his cause. There is even the possibility that Hall had met Harvey, and perhaps Nashe. "In the autumn or winter of 1595," says McKerrow, "Nashe was at Cambridge, and while there lodged at the Dolphin in the next

[2] *Virgidemiarum*, Book IV, Satire II, lines 101-106. (All references to Hall's works, unless otherwise stated, are to Wynter's edition, Oxford, 1863.)

[3] Harvey, *Marginalia*, Stratford, 1913.

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room to Harvey, who happened also to be visiting the town."[4] Hall may easily have met either Harvey or Nashe, or both, and something may well have occurred at the meeting to inspire him to champion the one and attack the other. To have helped Harvey in his quarrel by using the same weapons and tactics he himself had employed would have availed little. The pamphlet war had spent itself with small glory to either side. But an attack upon Nashe in an entirely new manner, in a vehicle so novel, so enduring, and so subtle as the Satire might have been welcomed by Harvey, provided the satirist betrayed no open partisanship and disclosed no particular interest in the quarrel itself, but held himself content with undermining Nashe's literary and personal reputation. Whether or not a conscious plan of this sort was back of Hall's effort we can only speculate.

Hall may even have had additional motives for his satiric outburst. The Harvey-Nashe dispute had its inception in the Marprelate controversy, and in the course of this Nashe's stand[5] must have galled the young Fellow of Puritan Emmanuel. Hall was but lately from under the influence of Nathaniel Gilby; he had just received his fellowship through the kind offices of his faithful patron, the Earl of Huntingdon; and he was a devoted disciple of Laurence Chaderton, Master of Emmanuel. What must have been his feelings, when Nashe in the Marprelate tracts could so gratuitously slight his patron and his father's old friend, and tauntingly call Chaderton's fair college "St. Laurence's Monastery?"[6]

Hall never took a direct part in the Martinist controversy, though he has been represented as having done so.[7] Even in the

[4] R. B. McKerrow, Introduction to *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, London, 1904-10, V, 106. (All further references to Nashe's works are by title, and the volume and page references are to this edition unless otherwise stated.)

[5] McKerrow, *op. cit.*, V, 49.

[6] Nashe, *An Almond for a Parrot*, III, 368.

[7] See Guy Andrews Thompson, *Elizabethan Criticism of Poetry:* "The degradation of poetry by the invading hosts of versifiers is regarded as a vexatious problem by Bishop Hall, who in his Martin Mar-sixtus (1592) confesses," etc. To support his assertion of Hall's authorship of this work Dr. Thompson cites Chappell's *Popular Music*, II, 106. Reference to this work reveals that Dr. Thompson has misread Chappell's statement. Chappell does mention Hall and the tract in the same sentence, but he manifestly does not make Hall the author.

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satires he does not refer to the Martinists specifically, but he could not have forgotten them when he sharpened his quills for the thrusts at Labeo.

In examining the internal evidence bearing upon the question, it may be well to consider first the allusions made in the *Satires* to Nashe as a writer and as a man before examining those passages which bear upon the issues in the controversy itself.

After Warton's edition had directed the attention of critics to the problems in the *Satires,* the identification of the contemporary author to whom Hall refers as "Labeo" became a puzzling question. Baffled in their attempts to fit the various criticisms to the works of any one man, most editors dismissed the problem as one of little consequence.[8] Some regarded Labeo as a mere personification of the literary faults of the period; others suggested that the references in the first group of satires were to one author, while those in the last group were to another whom Hall, however unreasonably, called by the same name.[9] Most suggestions aimed at focusing all allusions upon a single poet were of a half-hearted sort, with a final confession that the cap was a rather poor fit.

All of Hall's important denunciations of this character occur in Satire I of Book II, and in the single satire of Book VI, but it has been shown [10] that the whole of Satire IX, Book I, is directed at the same poet, though he is not therein named and therefore this satire had formerly not been compared carefully with those in which he specifically figured. It will appear later, I think, that numerous other literary references throughout the work are suggestive of him, though the name is not used.

Warton thought that in most respects the character of the mysterious Labeo fitted Robert Greene.[11] Singer considered Drayton more probable.[12] Bullen, in blaming Hall for the controversy with Marston, naturally attempted to identify as Labeo the author of *The Scourge of Villainy.*[13] Although at one time Dr. Grosart affirmed decidedly "I am strongly inclined to set down 'Labeo'

[8] Note in Peter Hall's edition of *Hall's Works,* Oxford, 1839, XII, 170.

[9] Grosart, Introduction to *Hall's Poems,* 1879, p. xxiii.

[10] Konrad Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls,* Berlin, 1910, p. 265.

[11] Warton, *History of English Poetry,* London, 1870, p. 961.

[12] Singer's edition of *Satires,* Chiswick, 1824, p. 147.

[13] Bullen, Introduction to *The Works of John Marston,* London, 1887, I, xx-xxi.

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for Chapman," [14] he must have forgotten that on the preceding page he had affirmed, "I hazard a conjecture that if the lost works of Thomas Watson ever be discovered, he may prove to be the thief from Petrarch, and the utterer of the 'big but oh's.'" [15] Inasmuch as by the terms "the thief" and "the utterer" Hall makes clear that he still refers to Labeo, these conjectures are surprisingly inconsistent.

Dr. Konrad Schulze [16] was the literary detective who finally laid hands on the culprit Labeo. It was, however, most unfortunate, as I have observed, that once he had apprehended him, Dr. Schulze failed to make a clear case against him in court.

Although Labeo is not mentioned in Satire IX of Book I, it was Schulze's lucky discovery that the allusions throughout this satire were to Nashe which led him later to give close attention to that author's works and thus discover that the literary offender so scathingly derided in the Labeo passages was also the famous pamphleteer.

Until Schulze's edition of the *Satires* appeared in 1910, Satire IX of Book I, on the obscene poet, had never been satisfactorily explained. Greene, Marlowe, Chapman, and even Shakespeare had been suggested.[17] Nashe's name, also, had been included by Peter Hall among writers of this character.[18] But Hall, it was apparent, had a particular poem in mind. It was not until the publication in 1899 of Farmer's private reprint of Nashe's *Choice of Valentines* made that work available for critical study that the identification was made possible. One reading of this poem discloses that in it the satirist had a far more legitimate subject for censure than he would have had in any work previously suggested. His satiric rage was no mere literary affectation—no Puritanic tempest in a teapot—but a righteous wrath at the popularity of a work which has few, if any, equals for lasciviousness in the whole range of English literature.

As Schulze observes, Hall in the following couplet has given a clue to the mystery of Satire IX, Book I:

[14] Grosart, *Poems of Hall, op. cit.*, p. xxvi.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. xxv.
[16] Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
[17] Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[18] Peter Hall's edition, XII, 159.

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> Now let the Devil and St. Valentine
> Be gossips to those ribald rhymes of thine.[19]

Nashe's recently published *Supplication to the Devil* and his invocation to St. Valentine in the privately circulated verse *The Choice of Valentines* justified Hall's charge of a familiar intercourse with both. The verses, however, are the object of the censure here, and Schulze might have remarked that Hall's reference to "experimental bawdery" and "the Lesbian deed" exactly fits these lines.

Keeping Nashe in mind, Schulze proceeded to an examination of the Labeo passages at the beginning of Book II and throughout Book VI. He discovered that the structures on paper-wasting (Book II, Satire I, lines 9-36) and on obscurity (*Ibid.*, lines 54-64) clearly referred to Nashe.[20] Then he encountered the Strabo-Troy passage (Book II, Satire I, lines 37-52). As all other editors have done, he assumed that in these lines also Hall had Labeo in mind, and some device seemed necessary to explain them. He resorted to a far-fetched allegory, so utterly inconsistent with Hall's usual method, and so unconvincing in itself, that the reader soon loses faith. When it is later seen that Schulze leaves unaccounted for the most puzzling allusions in Book VI, he finds that the only references that have been explained by the Nashe theory are commonplaces that might almost as well fit another poet. Naturally the reader remains unconvinced, as far as the specific allusions to Labeo are concerned. The unnamed poet of Satire IX he feels sure to be Nashe, but Labeo may very well be another.

First of all, the Strabo-Troy passage (Book II, Satire I, lines 37-52) demands explanation. Schulze sees in Hall's account of the ghost of Strabo returning to the Thames, a dark portrayal of Marlowe's spirit revisiting earth to bring his unfinished Troy Book, the tragedy of *Dido,* to Nashe, who was to complete it.[21] According to this conception then, Nashe becomes

> The pismire struggling with the load,
> Dragging all Troy home to her abode.[22]

A careful reading of this satire has convinced me that Hall had

[19] *Virgidemiarum*, Book I, Satire IX, lines 35-6.
[20] Schulze, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-268.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 267.
[22] *Virgidemiarum*, Book II, Satire I, lines 41-42.

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in mind a quite different idea, and that this particular passage does not refer to Labeo, or Nashe, at all.

To understand the argument at this point, it will be necessary for the reader to read Satire I of Book II in its entirety. To quote all the lines necessary for an explanation would needlessly encumber this paper. The following verses, however, demand close consideration:

> Little and good, is greatest good save one:
> Then, Labeo, write little or write none.
> Tush, but small pains can be but little art,
> To load full dry-vats from the foreign mart,
> With folio volumes, two to an ox-hide:
> Or else, ye pamphleteer, go stand aside;
> . . . . . .
> So may the giant roam and write on high,
> Be he a dwarf that writes not there as I.
> But well fare Strabo, which, as stories tell,
> Contrived all Troy within one walnut-shell.
> His curious ghost now lately hither came;
> Arriving near the mouth of lucky Tame,
> I saw a pismire struggling with the load,
> Dragging all Troy home towards her abode.
> . . . . . .
> Strive they, laugh we: meanwhile the black story
> Passes new Strabo, and new Strabo's Troy.
> Little for great; and great for good; all one:
> For shame! or better write, or, Labeo, write none. (ll 25-54.)

It will be noted that after the discussion of the paper-wasting tendency of Labeo, who, with "small pains," perhaps, but surely "little art," can write as much as will fill "folio volumes, two to an ox-hide," Hall reflects upon the days of old, when the golden rule of authors was *multum in parvo*. A thought like this must have been in his mind when he exclaimed:

> But well fare Strabo, which, as stories tell
> Contrived all Troy within one walnut shell.

At this point Hall pauses for a moment to reflect upon a contemporary whom he calls the ghost of Strabo: he is the antithesis of Labeo, and he must have attempted the very thing for which Hall had been pleading. He seems to have been an author who retold the Troy story in a condensation:

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> His curious ghost now late hither came;
> Arirving near the mouth of lucky Tame,
> I saw a pismire struggling with the load,
> Dragging all Troy home to her abode.

Hall certainly has in mind here the small size of the volume, the antithesis of the folios of Labeo. A note by Grosart in his edition of the works of John Davies of Hereford,[23] refers to a version of "the Bible, rhymed in a pettie volume like the Battle of Troy." In this connection Peele's poem, *The Tale of Troy* at once comes to mind, and while I have been able to discover nothing in regard to the format of the impression of 1589, Bullen has a note [24] concerning that of the second edition which states that in size it was not more than an inch and a half high. Surely Hall had a right to picture a pismire carrying that "Troy" home on his back! In connection with this there flits across Hall's fancy Pliny's portrayal of the flea drawing a small iron chariot contrived by the clever "stithy-man." [25] There seems to be no deeper meaning than this in the passage. That the satirist has not been referring to Labeo as the ghost of Strabo is made sufficiently clear by his next verses which form a manifest transition. He explicitly apologizes for having made a digression, and apprises the reader that he is to return to his discussion of Labeo. He says: "Meanwhile the Black Story" [his own satires] "passes" [or dismisses] "new Strabo and new Strabo's Troy." [26] Hall's use of the term "Black Story" is but an echo of Nashe's use of the term in "Pierce's Supplication to the Devil."

The remainder of Satire I is a plain censure of Nashe, and is

[23] John Davies of Hereford, *A Continued Inquisition Against Paper Wasters*, Chertsey Worthies' Library, 1878, II, 80, note.

[24] Bullen, *Works of George Peele*, II, 235.

[25] *Virgidemiarum*, Book II, Satire II, lines 45-50.

[26] After independently working out the foregoing explanation of this troublesome passage, I found that Mr. McKerrow had hit upon substantially the same idea in his edition of John Weever's *Epigrams* (Note, p. 123). He makes no analysis of the passage, but takes for granted that Hall is alluding to Peele's work, and he cites Bullen's note concerning the miniature edition of *The Tale of Troy*. Mr. McKerrow's observation is gratifying to the extent that this independent conclusion of so thorough and so conservative a student of Nashe and Greene goes far to place the interpretation beyond question.

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easily interpreted. Such evidence as I subjoin, will, I hope, so reinforce Schulze's notes as to place the question beyond dispute.

In connection with Hall's admonition to Labeo:

> Nay call the Cynic but a witty fool
> Thence to abjure his handsome drinking bowl,[27]

Nashe's frequent allusions to Diogenes are recalled. One, in content, though not in phrasing, certainly is reflected in Hall's couplet. "Diogenes," says Nashe, "chose rather to lick dishes at Athens, than to live daintily with Alexander."[28] When Hall bewails:

> Write they that can, though they that cannot do,
> But who knows that but they that do not know?

he is but repeating one of Harvey's thrusts at Nashe: "They that understand little write much; and they that know much write little."[29]

After the Strabo-Troy digression, the satirist resumes the Labeo attack and directs attention to the poet's obscene verses, which, as Schulze has proved, he had already caustically censured in Book I, Satire IX. There is no evidence that Nashe ever translated the works of Poggio Bracciolini, or of Rabelais, though English versions of other works in Italian and French have been attributed to him. Nevertheless Hall intimates something of the sort when he says indignantly:

> But who conjured this bawdy Poggio's ghost
> From out the stews of his lewd homebred coast:
> Or wicked Rabelais' drunken revellings,
> To grace the misrule of our tavernings? (II, i, ll. 55-58.)

This may, however, mean no more than that Nashe and his companions read Poggio and Rabelais at their jovial meetings and relished them. Nashe's admiration for these writers becomes apparent from a statement in one of his prefaces. "He is another Florentine Poggio for mirthful, sportive conceit and quick invention," he says of a contemporary; and he readily admits that he himself imitated "that merry man Rablays."

The other Labeo satire is that of Book VI. In this, since it is of the "Biting" group, a stronger tone of invective is to be ex-

[27] *Virgidemiarum*, Book II, Satire I, lines 3-4.
[28] Nashe, *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, I, 38.
[29] Harvey, *Four Letters*, Huth Library, 1814, I, 229.

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pected, and darker allusions. Labeo is warned that he must be ready with "a long nail" to score the margins, for ten whole pages are to be devoted to him. First of all, Hall takes a fling at his personal appearance. He likens his countenance, with the cheeks that

> Change hue, like the air-fed vermin's skin,
> Now red, now pale, and swoln above his eyes,

to the frightful visage of "the crab-tree porter of the Guild-hall gates," a reference to a painting "of the tremendous Gog and Magog" in Guild-hall. Apparently no portrait of Nashe has survived, and we have no way of knowing how well Hall's description fits him, but it should be observed that the picture of "N———" (Book IV, Satire V, lines 23-24) is, judging by the initial used, quite probably an allusion to Nashe, and this also portrays him with a "morphewed skin."

Hall devotes over one hundred lines (26-128) of Book VI to an ironical retraction of all his former satires. In this he may merely be following a classic formula; but it is quite as likely that he intended a parody on Nashe's own recent retraction of his aspersions on Harvey,[80] or even of such a work as Greene's *Repentance*. In this passage he describes Tattelius, the newly-arrived traveller,

> Trampling the Bourse's marble twice a day." (l. 53.)

The temptation to identify Tattelius with *The Unfortunate Traveller* is strengthened when we remember the accusation that Nashe frequented the Bourse of Sir Thomas Gresham. Hayman thus addressed some lines *To Pierce Penniless:*

> Though little coin thy purseless pockets line,
> Yet with great company thou'rt taken up.
> For often with Duke Humphrey thou dost dine,
> And often with Sir Thomas Gresham sup.[81]

From this allusion it is apparent that Hall may have had Nashe in mind when portraying Ruffio in Satire VII of Book III.

Nashe's tendency to twit others with prevarication, whereas he himself was guilty of the most absurd fictions set forth as truths,

[80] Nashe, *Christ's Teares*, "To the Reader," II, 12.
[81] Robert Hayman, *Quodlibets or Epigrams*, Epigram 35.

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is next noted by Hall. Tattelius, he observes ironically, "tells nothing but stark truths," while from Nashe's recent criticisms it would appear that he thought that

> Not one man tells a lie in all the year,
> Except the Almanack or the Chronicler.

This is patently an allusion to Nashe's harsh ridicule of the almanacs and prognostications of the Harvey brothers.[32] The lines immediately following these surely conceal a reference to William Harvey's well-known *prognostications*. Later I shall consider this passage at greater length in connection with its more direct bearing upon the Martinist and Harvey disputes.

Up to this point it has not been difficult to detect the features of Nashe under the disguise of Labeo. With line two hundred and fifty-two of the Satire in Book VI some difficulties become apparent. The next passage has caused more perplexity among editors than almost any other in the *Satires*. Hall is manifestly referring to Labeo when he says that the poet he has in mind filches

> Whole pages at a clap for need
> From Honest Petrarch, clad in English weed;
> While big "But Oh's" each stanza can begin
> Whose trunk and tail stuttish and heartless been. (ll. 251-4.)

Grosart, Alden, and others have searched carefully the sonnet-writers and poets previous to 1596 for lines beginning with "But Oh," and have failed to find any to which this criticism might apply. In *The Unfortunate Traveller* Nashe has, it is true, attributed to Surrey numerous poems that might be considered as the work of "Petrarch clad in English weed," but among these no "But Oh's" are to be found. Grosart, as I have already stated, suggested that if the lost poems of Watson ever were recovered he might be found to be "the utterer of the big 'But Oh's.'"[33] But were there not a number of lost verses of Nashe, and would they not even more probably prove to have been the object of Hall's scorn? It was by pure accident, apparently, that *The Choice of Valentines* survived, for it was not printed until 1899. Since it has been shown that he criticized these unpublished verses of Nashe in Satire I of Book I, there is every probability that Hall is here

[32] Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, I, 196.

[33] Grosart, *Poems of Joseph Hall*, 1879, p. xxv.

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alluding to other verses of the same sort, circulated only in manuscript, but well known to the intelligent reader. There is even some evidence that Nashe wrote verses that would fit this description. McKerrow affirms that Nashe never admitted *publishing* any poems,[34] though we may see from lines scattered through his prose works, and from his plays, that Nashe was a ready versifier. And we do know that some of his unpublished poems aroused wide comment at the time. Harvey, Hall, Marston, Middleton, and John Davies of Hereford all took for granted that the public was familiar with *The Choice of Valentines.* It is Harvey who mentions other similar verses of Nashe's about Ganymede, in an "unprinted packet of bawdy and filthy Rymes, in the nastiest kind." "Phy on impure Ganimed's," he says, "inventors of newe, or revivers of old lecheries."[35] Marston's allusion to Ganymede in *The Scourge of Villainy*[36] was probably inspired by these verses.

There is even a possibility that this or another poem of like character by Nashe is in existence. I quote from a note by Mr. Gosse:

> One long narrative poem, the very name of which is too coarse to quote, was, according to Oldys, *certainly published*, but of this no printed copy is known to exist. John Davies of Hereford says that "goode men tore that pamphlet to pieces." I owe to the kindness of Mr. A. H. Bullen the inspection of a transcript of a very corrupt manuscript of this work.

Mr. Gosse cannot here be alluding to *The Choice of Valentines,* for the title of that poem is certainly not coarse. Furthermore, he remarks that "according to Oldys" it was "certainly published."[37] McKerrow, in his Bibliography, was careful to include not only all known editions, but all references to all editions of Nashe's works, and his account of *The Choice of Valentines* he distinctly implies it was first published in 1899.[38] Mr. Gosse, must, therefore, have had in mind some other verses by Nashe of a like nature. It may be remarked that it is strange that Mr. Bullen, who published McKerrow's edition of Nashe, did not supply the editor of that

[34] McKerrow, *op. cit.*, Introduction, V, 139.

[35] Harvey, *A New Letter of Notable Contents*, Huth Library, I, 289.

[36] Marston, *The Scourge of Villainy*, l. 23, Bullen's edition, London, 1887, Vol. III.

[37] Edmund Gosse: Introduction to his edition of *The Unfortunate Traveller*, London, 1892, p. xviii.

[38] McKerrow, *op. cit.*, V, 141.

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work with these verses for inclusion in it. They could scarcely be more objectionable than the Valentine verses which found a place there. Certainly Nashe circulated much work of that sort *sub rosa.* Considering the inclination of good men to tear it to pieces, the fact that any transcription of it survived indicates that the number of contemporary copies was large. It is therefore quite logical to think that some such poem of Nashe's contained the "But Oh" lines, and justified Hall's public censure.

In works published shortly after the *Virgidemiarum* I have discovered two poems containing lines beginning thus. Strangely enough, both of these have a Nashe connection. Is it not significant that John Davies of Hereford opens his epigram on Nashe with the lines:

> **But Oh! my soule is vext to thinke how evill**
> **I was abused to beare suits to the Devil.**

This is in *Paper's Complaint* [39] and it contains a reference to the *Valentines.* It is interesting to note how closely in all the phraseology of his epigrams this satirist of Nashe follows on the heels of Hall. In Middleton's *Father Hubbard's Tale* there is one mention of Nashe, and somewhat further on, two "But Oh" lines:

> **But Oh, those days are wasted! and behold,**
> **The golden age that was is coined to gold.**[40]

and:

> **O but I chide in vain! for gold wants eyes,**
> **And like a whore cares not with whom it lies.**

"T. M.'s Black Book" (most certainly the work of Middleton) is a satire against Nashe, and it may be that Middleton, acquainted with Nashe's forbidden verses, purposely reproduced some of their mannerisms. Considering the scarcity of such "But Oh" lines—and this attested by Alden who made a careful search for them—it seems more than a coincidence that the few to be found are in poems which satirize Nashe.

That Hall had Nashe in mind in his censure of Labeo's diction is manifest. In the next few lines Hall pauses for a moment to criticize his offensive word formations. Labeo, he says, in his epi-

[39] John Davies of Hereford, *Scourge of Folly*, ll. 63-88, Chertsey Worthies' Library, 1878.

[40] Middleton, *Works*, Bullen's edition, London, 1886, III, 104.

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thets "joined two words in one." McKerrow collected from Nashe's writings over thirty of these ridiculous formations from which I select as representative "imminent-over-canopy," "passionate-ambitions," and "unweaponed-jeopardous." [41]

Lines 245 to 280 have given difficulty to all editors. The passage has been interpreted as referring to Labeo from beginning to end. If it does, the statement is distinctly made that Labeo in his verses named "the spirit Astrophel," that "he danced a sober Pyrrhic in the field," and that his Muse sang an "arma virum," as well as played the "pastoral pipe." So Alden interprets it:

> It appears from the passage that "Labeo" is writing heroic poetry; poetry; that he plagiarizes from Petrarch; that he is fond of beginning weak stanzas with "*big But Oh's*"; that he is fond of double epithets or compound adjectives; that he "names the spirit of Astrophel"; that he wrote pastoral verse and love poetry before undertaking that on heroic themes.[42]

Manifestly all these allusions, taken with those preceding, cannot be made to apply to any one poet. Schulze's failure to explain this passage is disappointing; and other editors have frankly abandoned the question as hopeless of solution.

The lines that have non-plussed the editors are these:

> Lastly he names the spirit of Astrophel:
> Now hath not Labeo done wondrous well?
> But ere his Muse her weapon learned to wield
> Or dance a sober Pyrrhic in the field,
> Or marching wade in blood up to her knees,
> Her *Arma virum* goes by two degrees.
> The sheep-cot first hath been her nursery,
> Where she hath worn her idle infancy;
> And in high startups walked the pastured plains
> To tend her tasked herd that there remains;
> . . . . . .
> Or else hath been in Venus' chamber trained
> To play with Cupid, till she hath attained
> To comment well upon a beauteous face.
> Then was she fit for an heroic place. (ll. 263-280.)

Manifestly the whole difficulty arises from Hall's ambiguous use of the pronoun *his* in line two sixty-five. Editors have taken it to

[41] McKerrow, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, Appendix F, p. 202, sec. 6.

[42] Alden, *Rise of Formal Satire in England*, Philadelphia, 1899, p. 126.

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refer to "Labeo," whereas it must refer to "Astrophel" or Sidney. Hall is comparing Labeo's literary attainments with those of Sidney—a comparison justified in Hall's mind by Nashe's apparent tone of condescension in his praise of Sidney. In several works Nashe had "named the spirit of Astrophel"; but one passage in *The Anatomie of Absurditie* must have supplied Hall with his catchword: "England afforded many mediocrities, but never saw anything more singular than worthy Sir Philip Sidney, of whom it might be truly said, "*Arma Virumque Cano.*"[43] This or another of the "Astrophel" allusions evidently incited Hall to a comparison of the literary novitiates of the two writers. Had Labeo followed Sidney's course in serving his literary apprenticeship he might have trained himself more effectively, Hall thinks. By lines two sixty-five to two sixty-eight Hall apparently means that Sidney's Muse (his young ambition) taught him to wield a weapon. He became a soldier; he danced his Pyrrhic under the guns of Zutphen, where he truly "waded in blood up to his knees." Before that time, however, his life's story, or *Arma virum* (a phrase borrowed from Nashe himself) had gone two degrees, through the pastoral (*Arcadia*) and the Cupid (sonnet) stages. Then, he adds, "She was fit for an heroic place." His comment upon the Cupid, or sonnet, stage of Sidney's work brings Hall back to the idea that inspired this digression, Nashe's "But Oh" sonnets, and from line two eighty-one to the end of the satire, we find a clever travesty of them, or of works like them. If the lines in question are thus explained, it becomes clear that it is not necessary to attribute to Labeo either epic or pastoral poetry, and nothing remains that does not perfectly apply to the works of Nashe. The perversity of critics in insisting upon reading these lines as a continuous reference to Labeo's poetry is paralleled only by that shown in their treatment of the Strabo-Troy allusions. In both instances they have assumed that Hall had Labeo in mind when in reality he was indulging in simple contrast.

In addition to the Labeo references there is another, an explanation of which has never been attempted. It would become intelligible could it be shown to be a Nashe satire, and such a possibility is suggested by the use of the initial "N———"; Hall asks:

[43] Nashe, Epistle to *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, I, 7.

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> What else makes N— when his lands are spent,
> Go shaking like a threadbare malcontent,
> Whose bandless bonnet vails his overgrown chin,
> And sullen rags bewray his morphew'd skin?
> So ships he to the wolvish Western Isle;
> Among the savage kernes in sad exile;
> Or in the Turkish wars at Cæsar's pay,
> To rub his life out till the latest day.[44]

Nashe's lost work, *The Isle of Dogs,* may have portrayed Ireland, and these lines may have a connection with that work. Nashe was certainly just such a "threadbare malcontent" as is here described, and whether or not he ever really went to Ireland, he certainly gave the impression that he contemplated a journey thither.[45] McKerrow does not consider that Nashe's phrase "after my return from Ireland" (*Lenten Stuff,* III, 147, 25), is evidence of such a journey, but it has been so construed, and Mr. Fleay thinks that from it, "it appears that Nashe was in Ireland, serving in the war." Of course, it would be impossible to explain the implication of a Turkish expedition, except as a prediction of a future Hall considered fitting for such a free lance.

In Book II, Satire IV, there is a line containing the italicized phrase *Groatsworth of Health.* Naturally it calls to mind Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit.* There is the possibility that Hall considered Nashe to be the author of this work. It is evident that some of his contemporaries so regarded him, for Nashe himself says: "Other news I am advertised of, that a scald, trivial, lying pamphlet, called Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit,* is given out to be of my doing."[46]

In consideration of so many allusions which can be explained only as references to Thomas Nashe, it becomes clear that Schulze was correct in identifying him as the prototype of Labeo. His misinterpretation of the Strabo-Troy passage was a serious flaw in his argument, and his avoidance of the difficulties in the last satire was disappointing. I hope that the interpretations suggested in this paper will seem to clarify both these passages, which have troubled all the students of the *Virgidemiarum* from Singer's time to the present. Schulze's argument was weakened by lack of suffi-

[44] *Virgidemiarum,* Book IV, Satire V, lines 23-30.
[45] McKerrow, *op. cit.,* IV, 357.
[46] Nashe, *Pierce Pennilesse,* I, 154.

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cient evidence. I have accumulated many more passages in support of it, and trust that in the light of these the identification of Labeo as Nashe will seem to have been placed beyond doubt.

The direct allusions to Nashe as a man and as a writer are not, however, all that interest us in the *Virgidemiarum*. Hall touched on numerous points in the Harvey-Nashe pamphlet war, and most of the thrusts at Labeo in this connection are even more interesting and of greater import.

The most immediate connection between the *Virgidemiarum* and Nashe's work is to be found in Hall's reply to the critical comments made by Nashe in his prefatory epistle to Greene's *Menaphon*. The connection between these has, I believe, never been observed. There can be little doubt that much of the first book of the *Virgidemiarum*, as well as some other portions, was written in reply to this essay of Nashe's, and since this was evidently the first portion of the *Satires* that was designed, Nashe's work appears to have been, together with Spenser's *Tears*, a primary inspiration of the "first English Satirist."

The controversy between them was the typical one of the contemporary college man and the "old graduate." Nashe, in the latter rôle, had returned to Cambridge after a long absence and had deplored the woeful decline in scholarship and in literary production. Things were not as they had been in "his day." After extravagant praise of the University products of a generation before, he reflected:

> But how ill their precepts have prospered with our idle age, that leave the fountains of Sciences, to follow the rivers of Knowledge, their overfraught studies with trifling compendiaries may testifie: for I knowe not how it cometh to passe, by the doting practice of our Divinitie Dunces, that strive to make their pupils pulpit-men before they are reconciled to Priscian; but those years which should be employed in *Aristotle* are expired in Epitomes, and well too, they may have so much Cathechisme vacation, to rake up a little refuse philosophy.[47]

It was to be expected that words like these, addressed to the "Gentlemen Students of Both Universities" should evoke a reply, especially from Nashe's own university. Nothing is so easily fired as student indignation when college reputation is impugned. Moreover, Hall had a reason to suspect that Emmanuel particularly was

[47] Nashe, *To the Gentlemen Students of Both Universities*, III, 318.

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in Nashe's mind. It had more than the usual share of pupil pulpitmen who were accused of being "divinity dunces," and it was notably guilty of negligence in regard to Priscian and Aristotle. Consequently Hall in his *Satires* took up the challenge of Nashe. Reverting to the latter's praise of Priscian, he observes:

> But now of late did many a learned man
> Serve thirty years prent'ship with Priscian.[48]

But, he asks, with what result? It taught him only to speak the "language of the antipodes." With this as an introduction, Hall then considers Nashe's criticism of the modern student's attainments in language. Since variety in speech will always be demanded, is it not better to study the learned tongues, he asks, or "the courtly three," than degenerate into the barbarisms of Wales and Ireland?

> Wouldst thou the tongues that erst were learned hight?
>
> Wouldst thou the courtly three in most request,
> Or the two barbarous neighbors in the West?[49]

But after all, he concludes, what is to be gained by discussing such a question with a tavern brawler? Therefore, he dismisses this topic with one sharp thrust:

> Bibinus' self can have ten tongues in one
> Though in all ten not one good tongue alone.[50]

Nashe had indulged in a good deal of literary criticism to the glorification of the older generation of writers and the utter disparagement of later University products. Ascham, Grindal, and Pilkington he had praised abundantly. He had recalled that his youth had boasted of "sweet Master Fraunce," Watson, the author of the "sugared *Amyntas*," which, with this *Antigone* might "march in equipage of honour with any of our ancient poets," and "a Haddon whose penne would have challenged the Laurell from Homer."[51] Such were the masters of his day, "But," he observes in contrast, "Thomas Newton with his Leiland, and Gabriel Harvey, is almost all the store that is left us at this hour." But

[48] *Virgidemiarum*, Book VI, Satire I, lines 135-136.
[49] *Ibid.*, ll. 139-142.
[50] *Ibid.*, ll. 143-144.
[51] Nashe, *To the Gentlemen Students*, III, 320.

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he says in scorn, "our gowned age hath grown eloquent, so that every mechanical mate abhorreth the English he was born to."

To this Hall replies:

> As for fine wits, a hundred thousand fold
> Passeth our age whatever times of old;
> For in that puisnè world our sires of long
> Could hardly wag their too unwieldly tongue,
> As pined crows and parrots can do now.[52]

In the epithets of the last verse Hall is echoing Nashe's own works, for Nashe had offered to "pluck a crow" with Martial,[53] and Hall represents him as having been plucked in a similar encounter with Harvey. In referring to the parrot, he has in mind, of course, Nashe's *Almond for a Parrot.*

In his list of worthies, Nashe assigned to Peele the first place and hailed him as the "Atlas of Poetrie." Nashe's tendency to exaggerated praise tempts Hall to observe that in these days there

> Is not a gnat, nor fly, nor silly ant
> But a fine wit can make an elephant,[54]

At this point we naturally recall Hall's allusion to the miniature *Troy Book* and the flea-chariot,[55] and that that particular portion of the satire was directed against Peele.

We may conclude, I think, that Hall's critical attitude in his literary discussions in Book I was largely determined by his desire to set in their proper place once for all the men of "the former age" of whom Nashe had boasted. He held up to derision not only Nashe himself but his favorites, Peele, Greene, and Marlowe, and while he did not refer to others specifically he satirized men of their type. Satire II does not refer to Fraunce as has been suggested, not Satire VII to Watson, as Grosart supposed, but the poetry under censure there is of the same type.

During the Harvey-Nashe controversy there was a long interval during which Nashe refused to renew his attacks and Harvey appeared to have come off the victor. Nashe's friends pleaded with him to reply. This situation Nashe himself depicted in *Have*

[52] *Virgidemiarum*, Book VI, Satire I, lines 129-133.
[53] Nashe, *Praise of Red Herring*, III, 222.
[54] *Virgidemiarum*, Book VI, Satire I, lines 153-154.
[55] *Ibid.*, Book II, Satire II, lines 39-52.

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With You.[56] He represented Importuno (the opponent) as deriding him thus: "Confidently they say, he is not able to answer him, he hath deferd it so long. A disgraced and condemned man he lives while Harvey thus lives unanswered." Importuno further hints at a "foreswearing on Nashe's part of the witty works in Divinitie," and criticizes *Christ's Teares,* adding that he "makes a conscience to meddle any more in these controversies."[57] All this occurred in 1596,[58] before the appearance of Nashe's long-awaited reply to Harvey's *Supererogation.* Hall was writing his second group of satires at this very period; it is to this incident that he alluded in the following lines:

> But why doth Balbus's dead-doing quill
> Parch in his rusty scabbard all the while;
> His golden fleece o'er grown with mouldy hoar,
> As though he had his witty works foreswore?
> Belike of late now Balbus hath no need,
> Nor now belike his shrinking shoulders dread
> The catch-poll's fist: the press may still remain,
> And breathe, till Balbus be in debt again.[59]

Hall's allusion to the "catch-polls fist" is rendered clear by Nashe's own admission that he put aside pleasanter tasks and wrote the Harvey pamphlets merely for money, for he observed at the time, "*res est augusta domi,* and the bottome of my purse is turned downward." Much of Nashe's ridicule in the Harvey quarrel had been directed against Richard Harvey's astrological discourse in which the latter had predicted that on April 28 of the year 1583 dire occurrences would result from the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn. Many a London citizen was afraid to leave home on the fatal day. When nothing really happened, Harvey was overwhelmed with ridicule.[60] Nashe for years harped on this subject in his pamphlets. Hall seems to have attempted to make a vague connection between something like this state of mind and the previously discussed barren interval when Nashe refused to continue the controversy with Harvey. Hall says:

[56] Nashe, *Have With You To Saffron Walden,* III, 27.
[57] *Ibid.,* p. 26.
[58] The *Teares* had appeared in 1593.
[59] *Virgidemiarum,* Book VI, Satire I, lines 163-170.
[60] Nashe's *Works,* V, 72.

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> **Pansophus now, though all in a cold sweat,**
> **Dares venture forth through the feared castle gate,**
> **Albe the faithful oracles have forsain,**
> **The wisest senator shall there be slain,**
> **That made him long keep home.**[61]

This immediately follows the Balbus passage.

It was doubtless Nashe's frequent allusions to the *Black Book* he contemplated writing that suggested Hall's designation of his own *Satires* as the *black story,* in Satire I, Book II, line 51. "The Night is the Divell's *Black Book,*" Nashe had once said, "wherein he recordeth all our transgressions."[62] This explains his own and Hall's use of the term. "And then beware my *blacke booke* you were best, for I have not halfe emboweld my register,"[63] Nashe warned at another time. "I'll be as good as the Blacke Book to him and all his kindred," he said (Introduction to *Supplications to the Divell,* I, 155), referring, as McKerrow thinks, to the *Black Book* which Greene had in preparation.[64] Middleton, it must be remembered, wrote a *Black Book,* of the ordinary pamphlet type,[65] and elsewhere used the satire form in direct imitation of Hall's *Virgidemiarum.*[66] It is of considerable importance, therefore, to note that in calling his own work by this name Hall definitely allied his satires with the railing pamphlets of the day.

I have not attempted to show that Hall intended in his *Satires* to enter wholeheartedly into the Harvey-Nashe dispute. Nowhere does he directly allude to Harvey himself; and he even takes the Nashe view about the Astrological question, which formed part of the controversy. It would rather seem that as a literary novice he hoped by a quarrel with Nashe to attract attention to himself and at the same time ally himself with the circle in which Harvey moved. Nashe's editor suspects even Nashe of a somewhat similar intent. He says: "Nashe cannot have been ignorant of the numerous literary quarrels of the Italian Renaissance,—in which an

[61] *Virgidemiarum,* Book VI, Satire I, lines 61-65.

[62] Nashe, *Terrors of the Night,* I, 345.

[63] Nashe, *An Almond for a Parrot,* III, 376.

[64] See also *Kind Hart's Dream,* by Henry Chettle, p. 32, line 24, and page 78, Note (Percy Society, Vol. V, 1841).

[65] Middleton: *T. M.'s Black Book,* Bullen's Edition, VIII.

[66] Collier, *Poetical Decameron,* Edinburgh, 1820, I, 286.

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actual dispute was made the occasion of an elaborate, if peculiar, rhetorical exercise, and he may have felt that such a style of writing would well display his own talents."[67] Hall, too, probably saw the value of such a "rhetorical exercise"; but he adopted a more dignified and enduring form, and one which, while it was calculated to appeal to the author of *Colin Clout,* would at the same time, he had every reason to believe, offer difficulties to a writer of Nashe's attainments, trained in the license and informality of the prose pamphlets.

The University of Oklahoma.

[67] McKerrow, *op. cit.*, V, 88.

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THOMAS HEYWOOD'S "PACK CLOUDS AWAY" AND *THE RAPE OF LUCRECE*

By John R. Moore

In the five early editions of *The Rape of Lucrece* the songs are increasingly numerous and (with one remarkable exception) almost incredibly bad. The first three quartos (1608, 1609, 1614) are least offensive, because they contain fewest songs — only twelve, aside from a fragment which was apparently sung by the clown;[1] but in the Fourth (1630) and Fifth (1638) Quartos the number increases from twelve to sixteen and twenty-one. The songs are all attributed entirely or in part to a new sort of clown — the "merry Lord" Valerius, who sings in and out of season. The opinion of the best critics that the songs are (with the one notable exception) fatal to any dramatic quality in the play may be illustrated by the remarks of Symonds and of Ward:

> When Valerius first hears of the outrage offered to Lucrece, he breaks out into a catch of the most questionable kind, together with Horatius Cocles and a Clown. The whole matter is turned into ridicule, and it is difficult after this musical breakdown to read the tragedy except as a burlesque.[2]

> . . . among all the vagaries which the literature of the stage has in our own or in any country permitted itself, I know of none more exquisitely absurd than that of introducing into a tragedy on such a subject as that of Tarquin's crime, awful in its circumstances not less than in its consequences, a novel sort of clown—a personage supposed to be on the level of the rest of the characters, but distinguished by his capacity for singing all the comic songs of the day. The 'merry Lord' Valerius with his ditties cannot but have eclipsed the sad and serious interest of this tragedy, although in addition to its tragic story the legends of Horatius Cocles, Mucius Scaevola and the battle of Lake Regillus are all brought upon the stage. Most of Valerius' songs are doggrel, and one or two are something worse, but they include at least one charming exception—the very pretty lyric beginning 'Pack clouds away, and welcome day.'[3]

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[1] *Iohn for the king, has bin in many ballads,*
Iohn *for the king downe dino,* Iohn *for the king, has eaten many sallats*
Iohn *for the king sings hey ho.* (Q_1, 1608.)

[2] J. A. Symonds, *Thomas Heywood*, London, 1903, p. xxiv.

[3] A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, London, 1899, II, 581.

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It is here that he introduces the one exquisite lyric known to have come from his pen. The other songs—a budget of what at the present day would be called music hall ditties interspersed in the action of this 'true Roman tragedy' by Valerius, 'the merry Lord among the Roman peers'—are, in part, of antiquarian interest (such as the list of London taverns, and that of the street cries of Rome); they reach the nadir of shameless inappropriateness in the catch with which the merry lord, Horatius Cocles and the clown 'follow on,' when the tragic action is suspended at its height.[4]

Perhaps the play would not justify special consideration, if it were not for the unexpected dramatic fitness of the one remarkable song which appeared first in the 1630 Quarto, and for the view sometimes expressed that "*The Rape of Lucrece* offers a good example of the way songs disappeared from plays."[5]

Did any songs "disappear" from this play? In the first three quartos (1608, 1609, 1614)[6] the songs remain the same (although even the first edition appends two which are listed as having been "added by the stranger that lately acted *Valerius* his part"). The text was an authorized one, sponsored by Heywood himself as the original play "in his natiue habit," with a title-page announcing that it is printed "With the severall Songes in their apt places." The play is said to have been on the Cockpit stage in 1628;[7] and not long afterwards (as if added at some recent revival) in the 1630, or Fourth, Quarto appeared four songs not included in the earlier editions. Three of these are obviously late interpolations: they are fitted into the context by the addition of two new speeches for each; and for two of them the old numbering of the songs is changed to admit them as "The seuenth song" and "The eleuenth song"—as presumably the numbering would have been changed for the two others if it had been carried throughout the play with any care. The "seuneth" and the "eleuenth" are quite irrelevant,

[4] A. W. Ward, "Thomas Heywood," *Cambridge History of English Literature*, VI, 101.

[5] E. B. Reed, *Songs from the British Drama*, New Haven, 1925, p. 289.

[6] Professor Reed (*op. cit.*, p. 289) says that "in 1630 there appeared what is called on the title-page the fourth edition, though no third edition appearing between 1609 and 1630 is known." But a copy of the third edition (1614) is accessible in the British Museum (press mark C. 34. k. 53); and the edition is recorded in A. M. Clark's "Bibliography of Thomas Heywood" (*Oxford Bibliographical Society Proccedings and Papers*, I, Part II, Oxford, 1924).

[7] E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Oxford, 1923, III, 344.

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and "Come list and harke" is very inappropriate. Of the four new songs only one, "Packe clowdes away," is not introduced by new lines, is not given a new number, and is not irrelevant in its context; instead, it is so singularly beautiful and fitting that it has been thought to be an original part of the play,[8] recovered at that late date and restored to its place. However, the evidence that it is a late interpolation is almost as strong as for the three other songs.

The Rape of Lucrece was in the Cockpit list in 1639.[9] In the preceding year the Fifth Quarto had appeared with five more songs, all carefully labelled as additions: "The first new Song," "The second new Song," "The third new Song," "The fourth new Song," and "The last new Song." The second, third, and fourth of these are tacked on by the addition of new speeches; the first is fitted in after an old speech by Valerius, but it is quite unnecessary there; and the last one is not only unnecessary but quite impossible. Professor Reed is disposed to reject this last song as not by Heywood, on account of its wretched quality; but he implies that the interpolation is otherwise justified by the context, and he suggests that the song was in some sort called for by the preceding speech of Horatius in the 1608 edition.[10] However, a comparison of the 1608 text with that of 1638 will show that the disputed song cannot be the one called for by Horatius, but is a quite irrelevant solo inserted between the request of Horatius and the three-part catch for which he would seem to have called. In the 1608 text Horatius has asked Valerius for some such part-song, and has been put off for the moment while Valerius inquires what news the Clown brings:

> I prethee sing *Valerius* that I may ayre with thee.
> *Vale.* First tell vs what's the proiect of thy massage?

In the dialogue which follows, the Clown agrees that although he is sworn to secrecy, he may sing or laugh out his news; and so their song is introduced for the ostensible purpose of conveying the news in regard to Lucrece:

> *Valerius, Horatius, and the Clowne their Catch.*

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[8] E. B. Reed, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-290.
[9] E. K. Chambers, *op. cit.*, III, 344.
[10] E. B. Reed, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

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But in Q_5 (1638), the request of Horatius is followed immediately by "The last new Song," "I'de thinke my selfe as proud in Shackles," which is not assigned to a particular singer, is clearly a solo and not the kind of song called for by Horatius, and is quite irrelevant. Then Valerius continues with his original speech, except that the tell-tale word "First" has been accommodatingly altered to "Now":

> Now tell us what's the project of thy message?

After the dialogue which follows, they come to the catch already indicated in the 1608 text.

It is clear, then, that of the nine songs added after the First Quarto at least eight are subsequent additions, carelessly inserted with little regard for the context, and usually accompanied by new lines to introduce them. So far from any songs being dropped out, even the appended songs of the First Quarto are still tacked on at the end, thirty years later, as having been "added by the stranger that lately acted *Valerius* his part." It is quite possible that, among such a number, the less popular songs would gradually be dropped in actual performance on the stage; but as far as the printed text shows there is no indication that any song was ever dropped out—unless it might have been "Pack clouds away."

In Heywood's *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramma's* (1637, pp. 262-3) the song "Pack clouds away" occurs as the latter half of an epithalamion on the wedding of James and Anna Waade. Their names are indicated by the initials in the title, and are spelled out fully in the acrostic which constitutes the first half of the poem. The acrostic is a blessing on the wedding, and "Pack clouds away" follows as "*A Song at their uprising.*" If the date of the wedding could be determined as prior to 1630, there would be little doubt that the song was written for the marriage rather than for the play. It is an admirable example of what it professes to be, an *aubade,* and it is far more in the spirit of the epithalamion than in that of the loose-jointed play; and it would be unlikely that a lyric which had already been "stal'd with the stage, clapperclawed with the palms of the vulgar" would be offered as if new to such patrons. The name Waade was not an uncommon one in the seventeenth century, but the Christian name James was exceedingly rare in connection with it. As far as I have been able to discover, the

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bridegroom was probably James Waade (or Wade), Esq., son and heir of Sir William Waade, aged nineteen at the time of his father's death in 1623.[11] He succeeded to a manor variously called Battles, Battailes Waade,[12] and Manuden, in Essex; but his mother, Lady Anne, continued to occupy the manor of Belsize in Hampstead, which Sir William held by lease from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, until approximately 1649, when she surrendered her lease to John Holgate, Esq.

James Waade must have married (probably at some time before 1630, when he would have been twenty-six years old); no definite information seems available except that he was succeeded by a son and heir, who bore Sir William's name: "*William Waade,* Esq; commonly called Captain *Waade,* on account of his being Captain of the trained bands,"[13] who was murdered in July, 1677, in a field near his house.

Aside from the possible identification of the patron of Heywood as James Waade of Battailes, who would, according to the customs of the landed gentry of his time, presumably have married during the seven years between inheriting his father's estate in 1623 and the publication of the play in 1630,[14] other considerations make it unlikely that the lyric was an original feature of the play. Songs were admittedly a valuable feature of printed plays by this time; but in the 1608 edition, issued with a preface by Heywood himself explicitly promising all of the "seuerall Songs in their apt places," and adding two others which had lately been inserted in the part of Valerius, the song does not occur. Although the preceding dialogue of Brutus, Valerius, and Horatius makes a song possible, it

[11] Philip Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex,* London, 1768, II, 621; J. J. Park, *The Topography and Natural History of Hampstead, in the County of Middlesex,* London, 1818, pp. 137-153; Thomas Wright, *The History and Topography of the County of Essex,* London, 1836, II, 206.

[12] *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England.): An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex,* 1916, I, 196.

[13] Philip Morant, *op. cit.,* II, 621; *Boteler's Case,* London, 1678.

[14] The date of William Waade's birth is unknown; but he was the father of two children, William and Anne (Morant, *op. cit.,* 621), and the story of his murder as told in *Boteler's Case* indicates that he was probably a man of middle age in 1677.

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in no way requires it, and the conversation seems to have shifted to the wars, with no further thought of the song:

Enter Brutus, Valerius Horatius, Arnus, Sceuola, Colatine.

Bru. What so early *Valer.* and your voyce not vp yet? thou wast wont to be my Lark and raise me with thy early notes.

Val. I was neuer so hard set yet my Lord, but I had euer a fit of mirth for my friend.

Bru. Prethee let's heare it then whilst we may, for I deuine thy musique and my madnes are both short liu'd, we shall haue somewhat else to doe ere long, we hope *Valerius.*

Hora. Ioue send it.

[At this point, the 1630 edition introduced the song "Pack clouds away."]

Bru. Horatius, Me thinks our warres goe not wel forward. . . .

Indeed, as all of the other songs of Valerius are frivolous, and as he here describes his characteristic singing as "a fit of mirth for my friend," the dramatic crisis at this point might well have been indicated by his unusual silence. If so, the crisis is not long maintained; soon afterwards he joins with Horatius and the Clown in singing the abominable catch of Lucrece and Tarquin, which shows how little attention was given to the dramatic force of the songs in this play, even in the earliest printed version. Indeed, after the fine *aubade* had been added, its dramatic effect was spoiled in the next edition (1638) by a weak song, "In the praise of Lucrece," inserted shortly after it on an absurd pretext, with two new speeches of preliminary:

Sce [*vola*]. Come, come, make him merry, lets have a song in praise of his *Lucrece.*

Val [*erius*]. Content.

Of all nine songs added to the play after the First Quarto, "Pack clouds away" is the only one which is not explicitly called a song or assigned to a singer or introduced by new dialogue for the purpose; it is italicized and spaced as verse, but otherwise, unlike all of the others, its bears no indication of ever having been sung. It stands, detached and alone, connected with the play only by a casual reference to the unwonted silence of Valerius, and by the pathetic contrast of the joyous morning of happy love with the impending discovery of Lucrece's wrong.

It is quite unlikely that this one song, so different from every

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other assigned to Valerius in *The Rape of Lucrece,* should have been accidentally omitted in the original and authentic edition of Heywood in 1608; that it should have remained unnoticed in two subsequent editions; that it should have appeared long afterward in the Fourth and Fifth Quartos, together with eight new songs which are all demonstrably late interpolations; and that, although it was used in the special wedding ceremonial for a gentleman of the period (probably James Waade, Esq., of Battailes Manor in Essex), it should have been, not long previously,[15] restored without comment to its place in this disjointed play. On the contrary, it seems exceedingly likely that the song, after it had been used for the wedding, appealed to Heywood or to some other as appropriate for the play; and that it went, together with so many songs of the day by Heywood and others,[16] to provide new matter for the tireless and popular singer Valerius.

Indiana University.

[15] Heywood's *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramma's* was printed in 1637, but it was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1635. The prologues and epilogues in the volume, as far as they are datable, fall between 1630 and 1636 (Chambers, *op. cit.*, III, 346). If my interpretation is correct, the poem was written at some time before the printing of the Fourth Quarto of the play in 1630.

[16] Reed, *op. cit.*, p. 290, points out that one song is not by Heywood, and throws doubt on another. The authorship of most of the songs which were added to the play in the Fourth and Fifth Quartos, as well as that of the two songs appended to the First Quarto, is certainly open to question.

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RECENT LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

By Hardin Craig

Note: The following bibliography attempts to include the more important books, articles, and reviews which appeared in the year ending December 31, 1927, together with the more noteworthy productions of 1926 and earlier recent years which have escaped the bibliographies of the present writer for the years 1925 and 1926 and of the late Professor Thornton Shirley Graves for the years 1922-24 appearing annually in the April numbers of *Studies in Philology*. The bibliographies are here referred to by the abbreviation *Bibl.* and the year of publication. Assistance, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged, has been rendered me in the compilation of the bibliography of the year 1927 by my pupils Mr. David Patrick and Miss Madeleine Doran. I wish also to acknowledge, as before, the kindness of Professor Walter L. Bullock and Professor Ralph E. House, as also of members of the staff at the University of Iowa Library and the Libraries of the University of Chicago.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Archiv = *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.*
Beiblatt = *Beiblatt zur Anglia.*
EHR = *English Historical Review.*
Eng. Stud = *Englische Studien.*
Gior. storico = *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana.*
JEGP = *Journal of English and Germanic Philology.*
Literaturblatt = *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie.*
LTS = *Literary Supplement* to *The Times* (London).
MLN = *Modern Language Notes.*
MLR = *Modern Language Review.*
MP = *Modern Philology.*
Nation & Ath = *Nation and Atheneum* (London).
N & Q = *Notes and Queries.*
PMLA = *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.*
PQ = *Philological Quarterly.*
RES = *Review of English Studies.*
R du XVIe s = *Revue du seizième siècle.*
Rev. ang.-am = *Revue anglo-américaine.*
Rev. belge = *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire.*
Rev. litt. comp = *Revue de littérature comparée.*
SP = Studies in Philology.

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Rev. in LTS, Mar. 24, 1927, p. 213; by Winifred Bonser in Library, N. S. VIII, 142-4.

Knight, Charles. *Shadows of the Old Booksellers.* With an Introduction by Stanley Unwin. London: Peter Davies, 1927. Pp. xix, 281.

Rev. in LTS, June 23, 1927, p. 436.

Legouis, Émile, and Cazamian, Louis. *A History of English Literature.* London, 1926.

Rev. by Kemp Malone (of Vol. I) in JEGP, XXVI, 413-9; see Bibl. 1927, p. 296.

Le Petit, Jules. *Bibliographie des principales éditions originales d'écrivains français du XV^e^ au XVIII^e^ siècle.* Paris: Georges Jeanne, 1927. Pp. viii, 584.

Literarisches Zentralblatt. *Jahresberichte des Literarischen Zentralblattes. . . .* Jg. III, 1926. Mit Anhang: Wichtige wissenschaftl. Neuerscheinungen d. Auslandes. Leipzig: Börsenverein d. dt. Buchhändler, 1927. Pp. iv, 868.

The section on English and American language and literature is by Egon Mühlbach and occupies pp. 443-456.

Luick, Karl. *Die Bedeutung der Renaissance die Entwicklung der englischen Dichtung.* Wien, 1925.

Rev. by Florian Asanger in Literaturblatt, XLVIII, 262-3; by Wolfgang Keller in Shakespeare-Jb., N. F. IV, 208; see Bibl. 1927, p. 296

McGuire, James C. *The Hornbook.* Foreword by James C. McGuire to a List of the Collection of Hornbooks given by him to the New York Public Library. The List was prepared by Paul D. Bailey. Bull. of the New York Public Library, XXXI, 891-8.

McKerrow, R. B. *The Capital Letters in Elizabethan Handwriting.* RES, III, 28-36.

An article supplementary to Miss Byrne's *Elizabethan Handwriting for Beginners* (RES, Apr., 1925). Miss Byrne's article is devoted mainly to a consideration of small or minuscule letters. This deals entirely with capitals. It is based on photographs of manuscripts belonging to Dr. Greg and on materials from Dr. Greg's *Literary Autographs.* Examples of various forms of capital letters are repro-

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duced in two full-page plates. It forms with Miss Bryne's article a complete primer of Elizabethan handwriting.

McKerrow, R. B. *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. Pp. xv, 359.

Rev. in LTS, Nov. 3, 1927, p. 787; in N & Q, Vol. 153, pp. 377-8; by Edmund Blunden in Nation & Ath, XLII, 519.

A detailed and comprehensive treatment of the methods of bibliographical criticism. By explaining the processes involved in the transition from MS. to printed book, the author shows what kinds of errors may occur. He gives clues to the placing of editions in their chronological order, to the differences in the texts of various copies of the same edition, to evidences of conciliation, and to many other textual matters. The new method of criticism which this book expounds is already modifying profoundly older interpretations based on purely literary criteria. The article is an expansion of Mr. McKerrow's *Notes on Bibliographical Evidence for Literary Students and Editors of English Works of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, published in the twelfth volume of the *Transactions* of the Bibliographical Society.

Maggs Bros. *Catalogue of a Collection of Early Portuguese Books in the Library of King Manuel of Portugal.* London: Maggs, 1927.

Rev. by Frederick M. Hopkins in Sat. Rev. of Literature, IV, 31.

Merrill, R. M. *American Doctoral Dissertations in the Romance Field, 1876-1926.* Columbia Univ. Press, 1927. Pp. 87.

Moosmann, Eberhard. *Englische Literaturstunden auf der Oberstufe.* Die Neueren Sprachen, Beiheft Nr. 12a.

The Elizabethan Age, pp. 7-37; *The Age of Milton*, pp. 37-58.

Mudge, Isadora Gilbert, and Reed, Doris M. *Some Reference Books of 1927.* Library Jour., LIII, 63-84.

See Bibl. 1927, p. 298.

Nijhoff, Wouter. *Nederlandsch Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540.* Suppl. pt. 2, aanvulling, door M. E. Kronenberg. 's Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1927.

Northup, Clark Sutherland. *A Register of the Bibliographies of the English Language and Literature.* Yale Univ. Press, 1925.

Rev. by Lane Cooper in JEGP, XXVI, 410-2; by Anne S. Pratt in Sat. Rev. of Literature, IV, 135; in Lit. Zentralblatt, LXXVIII, 1123-6; by R. W. Zandvoort in Engl. Studies, IX, 45-9; see Bibl. 1927, p. 298.

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Osborne, Lucy Eugenia. *The Whitchurch Compartment in London and Mexico.* Library, N. S. VIII, 302-311.

An attempt to trace the adoption of a compartment, or ornamental border design for title-pages, belonging to the English printer Whitchurch, by the Mexican state printer of the sixteenth century, and its later use in books printed in Mexico. Cromberger, a German, obtained the exclusive right to print in Mexico and placed in charge of the enterprise Juan Pablos, who later succeeded him. The contacts between Spain and England were sufficiently numerous to make the adoption of the device an easy matter. See note by A. W. P. in the same issue of the Library, pp. 375-6.

Oxford University Press, Some Account of, 1468-1926. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Pp. 134.

Notice in LTS, Feb. 17, 1927, p. 110; by A. W. P. in Library, N. S. VII, 426-8.

Partridge, Eric. *A Critical Medley.* Studies and Notes in English, French, and Comparative Literature. Paris: Champion, 1926. Pp. 226.

Contains short articles on Marlowe's versification, *Macbeth*, and decay in Elizabethan drama.

Peddie, R. A. (ed.). *Printing: A Short History of the Art.* By E. Crous, and others. London: Grafton, 1927. Pp. x, 390.

Notice in Library, N. S. VIII, 371-2.

A work by ten notable bibliographers, each of whom writes the history of printing in the country of which he has special knowledge.

Platt, Arthur. *Nine Essays.* With a Preface by A. E. Housman. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1927.

Rev. in N & Q, Vol. 153, pp. 269-270.

Contains criticism of Cervantes, Dante, and other Renaissance writers.

Plomer, H. R. *Wynkyn de Worde and his Contemporaries from the Death of Caxton to 1535.* New York, 1925.

Rev. by. K. N. Colville, *William Caxton: Man of Letters*, in Quart. Rev., CCXLVIII, 165-178; see Bibl. 1926, p. 212.

Polain, Louis. *Marques des imprimeurs et libraires en France au XV^e siècle publiées par M. Louis Polain.* (Documents typographiques du XV^e s., tome I.) Paris: E. Droz, 1926. Pp. viii, 207.

Rev. by V. S. in Library, N. S. VIII, 269-271.

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Pollard, A. W. *Greek Types Old and New.* Library, N. S. VII, 414-8.

Pollard, A. W., and Redgrave, G. R. *A Short-Title Catalogue.* London, 1926.

Rev. in LTS, Apr. 7, 1927, p. 247; in Sat. Rev. of Literature, III, 539; by R. B. McKerrow in RES, III, 494-6; by H. S. Leach in Library Jour., LII, 815-6; by I. A. Williams in London Mercury, XV, 533-4; in Bodleian Quart. Rev., V, 109-110; see Bibl. 1927, p. 299.

Poole, Reginald Lane, and Clark, George Norman. *General Index to the English Historical Review.* Vols. XXXI-XL, 1916-1925. London: Longmans, 1927. Pp. 64.

Notice in LTS, Mar. 24, 1927, p. 216.

Power, Sir D'Arcy. *The Birth of Mankind or the Woman's Book.* A Bibliographical Study. Library, N. S. VIII, 1-37.

See N & Q, Vol. 153, p. 37.

Raymond, M. *Bibliographie critique de Ronsard en France (1550-1585).* Paris: Champion, 1927. Pp. 150.

Rev. by Helmut Hatzfeld in Literaturblatt, XLVIII, 270-2; by Fernand Desonay in Rev. belge, VI, 815-6.

Redstone, V. B. *An Ipswich Publisher, 1534.* LTS, Apr. 21, 1927, pp. 280.

Further comment by Henry R. Plomer on Reginald Oliver, stationer, in LTS, Apr. 28, 1927, p. 299.

Rollins, C. P., and Winship, G. P. *Rare and Fine Books.* Sat. Rev. of Literature, IV, 247.

Notice of the deposit by H. G. Selfridge of business records and personal notes of a branch of the Medici family with the Business School Library of Harvard University.

Rye, Reginald Arthur. *The Student's Guide to the Libraries of London.* With an account of the most important archives and other aids to study. Third edition. Revised and enlarged. With forewords by Dr. T. Franklin Sibly and Sir Henry A. Miers. Univ. of London Press, 1927. Pp. XXV, 580.

Rev. in LTS, Dec. 1, 1927, p. 909; notice in Library, N. S. VIII, 369-370.

Sainéan, L. *Problèmes littéraires du seizième siècle.* Le cin-

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quième livre de Rabelais. Le Moyen de parvenir. Les Joyeux devis. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1927. Pp. viii, 303.

Notice of another issue with the same title (Paris: Hartmann, 1927. Pp. 98) in MLN, XLII, xl.

Sawyer, Charles J., and Darton, F. J. Harvey. *English Books, 1475-1900: A Signpost for Collectors.* Vol. I. Caxton to Johnson. London: Sawyer, 1927. Pp. xvi, 368.

Rev. in LTS, Nov. 3, 1927, p. 796.

Schelling, Felix E. *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare.* Revised edition. New York: Holt, 1927. Pp. 492.

Notice in MLN, XLII, xxxvi.

Schelling, Felix E. *Shakespeare and Demi-Science: Papers on Elizabethan Topics.* Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1927. Pp. vii, 221.

Rev. in LTS, Dec. 1, 1927, p. 904; see also notice, *ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1927, p. 842; see Book Rev. Digest, 1927.

Schneider, Rudolf. *Der Mönch in der englischen Literatur bis auf Lewis's "Monk," 1795.* Phil. Diss. Berlin, 1927. Pp. iv, 65.

Schoell, Frank L. *Études sur l'humanisme continental en Angleterre à la fin de la Renaissance.* Paris: Champion, 1927.

Rev. in LTS, Feb. 10, 1927, p. 88; by T. M. Parrott in Sat. Rev. of Literature, III, 760; by W. A. Ovaa in Engl. Studies, IX, 158-162; by A. Feuillerat in Rev. litt. comp, 7e an., 773-6; by G. Lambin in Rev. ang.-am, 4e an., 450-1; by Ferguson in Litteris, IV, 142 ff.; notice in Gior. storico, LXXXIX, 372-3.

By extensive study of the sources of Chapman, the author concludes that Chapman's Platonism is the Platonism of Renaissance commentators rather than of Plato in the original, and that he serves to illustrate the total dependence of England on the continent in general, and on France in particular, in the matter of Hellenism.

Scholderer, Victor. *Incunabula.* London: Benn, 1927. 100 plates.

Notice in Nation & Ath, XL, 817.

Scholderer, Victor. *Printing at Milan in the Fifteenth Century.* Library, N. S. VII, 355-375.

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Schramm, Albert. *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke.* 9. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1926. Pp. 23; Taf. 131.

Notice in Lit. Zentralblatt, LXXVIII, 4; in Library, N. S. VII, 430-1.

Schröer, M. M. Arnold. *Grundzüge und Haupttypen der englischen Literaturgeschichte.* Teil I. Von d. ältesten Zeiten bis Spenser. 3. Verm. Aufl. Berlin, 1927.

Rev. by Friedrich Wild in Literaturblatt, XLVIII, 261-2; by Karl Arns in Lit. Handweiser, LXIV, 136; by A. Eichler in Eng. Stud, LXI, 434.

Seaton, Walter (ed.). *St. Francis of Assisi, 1226-1926.* Essays in Commemoration. Univ. of London Press, 1926. Pp. xiii, 332.

Rev. by Georgina R. Galbraith in History, XII, 252-3.

Contains an essay by Edmund Gardner on *St. Francis and Dante*, one by Dr. Pelizzi on *Franciscan Thought in Modern Philosophy*, and other papers bearing on Renaissance subjects.

Seeger, Oskar. *Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Antike und Moderne in England bis zum Tode Dr. Samuel Johnsons.* Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1927. Pp. 117.

Smellie, Alexander. *The Reformation in its Literature.* London, 1925.

Rev. in Lit. Zentralblatt, LXXVIII, 1130; see Bibl. 1927, p. 368.

Southwood, James. *The Early Printed Books of India.* Bookman's Jour., Third Ser. XV, 89-93.

Spurgeon, Caroline F. E. *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion.* Cambridge Univ. Press, 1925.

Notice by C. H. H. in MLR, XXII, 242-3; rev. by Paul de Reul in Rev. belge, VI, 339-341; by A. Feuillerat in Rev. de l'enseignement des langues vivantes, 44e an., 463-4; see Bibl. 1927, p. 347.

Stonehill, C. A., Block, Andrew, and Stonehill, H. W. *Anonyma and Pseudonyma.* London: the authors (22, Queen Anne's-grove, W. 4), 1927.

Rev. in LTS, June 23, 1927, p. 444.

Taylor, Archer. *"The Emperor's New Clothes."* MP, XXV, 17-27.

This article traces the folk-lore theme of "the Emperor's New Clothes," as it is called in Hans Andersen, through various medieval and modern works.

Thompson, Elbert N. S. *The Seventeenth-Century English Essay.*

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University of Iowa Humanistic Studies, Vol. III, No. 3. Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa, 1926. Pp. 149.

Rev. by Morris W. Croll in MLN, XLII, 563-4.

The Times Literary Supplement. *Notes on Sales.* LTS (current).

King Manoel's Portuguese Books, Jan. 13, p. 32; ***Books from La Roche-Guyon*** (early printed books in French), Aug. 4, p. 552; ***Whitchurch and other Books***, Dec. 1, p. 916.

The Times Literary Supplement. *Printing Number.* LTS, Oct. 13, 1927.

Deals mainly with modern printing, but contains a good deal of information on types and their origins in the early period of printing. See letters by Gerard T. Meynell, Cecil Torr, and James Guthrie in LTS, Oct. 20, 1927, p. 742.

Titles of Theses Accepted for the Degree of Doctor. In *Yearbook of the Universities of the Empire, 1927.* Apx. XXVIII, pp. 763-790. London: Bell, 1927.

Treneer, Anne. *The Sea in English Literature.* Liverpool Univ. Press, 1927. Pp. xvii, 299.

Rev. in LTS, June 30, 1927, p. 452.

Turner, F. McD. C. *The Element of Irony in English Literature.* Cambridge Univ. Press, 1926.

Rev. by Oswald Doughty in RES, III, 366-8; see Bibl. 1927, p. 301.

University of California. *Record of Theses submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of California, 1885-1926.* Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1926. Pp. 132 (multigraphed).

University of Chicago. *Abstracts of Theses.* Submitted to the Faculties of the Graduate Schools of the University of Chicago for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Vol. II. August 1923-June 1924. Vol. III. August 1924-June 1925. (With abstracts of some theses of earlier date.) University of Chicago Press, 1927. Pp. xi, 507; x, 431.

Notice in LTS, May 25, 1927, p. 378.

University of Michigan. *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne.* New York, 1925.

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Rev. by Henning Larsen in PQ, VI, 92-3; by Ph. Aronstein in Beiblatt, XXXVIII, 13-8; in Shakespeare Assoc. Bull., II, 1, p. 16; see Bibl. 1927, p 301.

Wainewright, John B. *Cardinal Pole's Library.* N & Q, Vol. 153, p. 189.

Walser, E. *Les Publications de la Bibliothèque Warburg.* Rev. litt. comp, 7e an., 352-367.

For several years, a small number of scholars grouped around Aby Warburg, professor of the history of art at the University of Hamburg, have studied the influence of antiquity on the later civilizations of Europe. Their work is published in two series, *Studien* and *Vorträge* (*Studien*, 7 vols.; *Vorträge*, 3 vols., 1921-2, 1922-3, 1923-4; Teubner, Leipzig). A study of especial interest is one by F. Panofsky and F. Saxl on Albrecht Dürer's well-known engraving *Melancolia I*, and on the Medieval and Renaissance association of the melancholy humour with the artistic temperament. The reviewer discusses Saturn's influence upon melancholy, and touches upon the use made of that humour by Dante and Petrarch (pp. 354-6). Another study of Renaissance interest (pp. 356-7) is A. Doren's article on the rôle of the Goddess Fortuna in the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance (*Vorträge*, II).

Wann, Louis. *The Rôle of the Confidant(e) in the Renaissance Epic.* Anglia, N. F. XXXIX, 63-74.

Notice in Rev. litt. comp, 7e an., 567.

Wells, Henry W. *English Gothic and Elizabethan Poetry.* Sewanee Rev., XXXIV, 269-277.

Whitaker's Cumulative Book List. (Dec. 1926-Dec. 1927—13 months.) London: Whitaker, 1928. Pp. 300.

White, Newport B. *Cashel Incunabula in Dublin.* LTS, May 12, 1927, p. 336; July 7, 1927, p. 472; and Aug. 25, 1927, p. 576 (under the caption *Cashel Books in Marsh's Library*).

Whitebrook, J. C. *E. Campion, Bookseller, and John Mychell, Printer.* N & Q, Vol. 153, pp. 255-9.

See letters by R. S. B. and F. William Cock, *ibid.*, p. 300; by C. Roy Hudlestone, *ibid.*, p. 357.

Wilkinson, Maurice. *The Renaissance and Modern Europe.* Cath. Hist. Rev., N. S. V, 599-626.

Winship, George Parker. *Gutenberg to Plantin.* Cambridge, 1926.

Rev. by R. B. McK. in RES, III, 247-8; see Bibl. 1927, p. 302.

Wise, Thomas James (ed.). *Catalogue of Printed Books, Manu-*

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scripts, and Autograph Letters. Vol. VIII. The Ashley Library. For private circulation. 1927. Pp. xi, 208.

Rev. in LTS, Mar. 17, 1927, p. 182.

Woolley, Reginald Maxwell. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library.* Oxford Univ. Press, 1927. Pp. xxiv, 190.

Notice in LTS, Sept. 1, 1927, p. 593.

An excellent and much needed catalogue of an interesting and valuable library. Perhaps the greatest treasures of the chapter library at Lincoln are medieval, but it is also rich in certain kinds of early printed books. The catalogue, as interpreted by the introduction, shows the kind of thing, both good and bad, which has happened to ecclesiastical libraries from the period of the early Middle Ages to recent times.

Zachrisson, R. E. *The English Pronunciation at Shakespeare's Time as Taught by William Bullokar with Word-lists from all his Works.* Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistika Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, XXII, 6. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells; Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1927. Pp. xiii, 243.

Notice in MLN, XLII, xxxvi.

Zedler, Gottfried. *Von Coster zu Gutenberg.* Der höllandische Frühdruck und die Erfindung des Buchdrucks, mit 26 Doppeltafeln und 49 Abbildungen. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1921. Pp. 194.

Rev. by F. S. Belten in Cath. Hist. Rev., N. S. VI, 711-3.

Zeitlin, Jacob (ed.). *Seventeenth Century Essays.* New York: Scribner, 1926. Pp. xliii, 346.

Rev. by Edwin Greenlaw in MLN, XLII, 184.

II. The Drama and the Stage.

Note: This section has been made to include a number of items not in the English field or in the Renaissance. This has been done in deference to the somewhat extended range of the current study of English drama.

Adrian, Karl. *Das Grossarler Herodsspiel.* Mittn. d. Ges. f. Salzburger Landeskunde, LXVI, 81-98.

Albright, Evelyn May. *Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640; A Study of Conditions affecting Content and Form of Drama.* M. L. A. Monograph Series, II. New York: Heath, 1927. Pp. 442.

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Rev. in LTS, Apr. 28, 1927, p. 291; see also letter in LTS, May 12, 1927, p. 336, *Law in Melodrama*, by F. Anstey; rev. by Alwin Thaler in MLN, XLII, 547-551; by Émile Legouis in Rev. ang.-am, 5e an., 164-5.

Albright, Victor. *The Shakespearian Stage.* New edition. Columbia Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. xii, 194.

Rev. in Lit. Zentralblatt, LXXVIII, 1126-7.

Alewyn, R. *Vorbarocker Klassizismus und griechische Tragödie.* Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher. Heidelberg: Verlag G. Köster, 1926. Pp. 63.

Rev. by K. Viëtor in Literaturblatt, XLVIII, 94-6.

Allison, Tempe E. *On the Body and Soul Legend.* MLN, XLII, 102-6.

Finds a possible version of the *Debate between Body and Soul* in the moral play *The Castell of Perseverance.*

Aronstein, Philipp. *Die englischen Knabentheater und ihr Drama.* Die Neueren Sprachen, XXXV, 427-439.

Bald, R. C. *A Revels Office Entry.* LTS, Mar. 17, 1927, p. 193.

An entry in an autograph MS. (1614-1618) of Sir George Buc, Master of Revels, suggests that *Cupid's Festival* may have been performed by the Lady Elizabeth's Company; for Robert Dawes (possibly alluded to in the entry) was an actor in that company in 1614; see Bibl. 1927, p. 309, under Marcham, Frank.

Baldwin, T. W. *Elizabethan Players as Tradesfolk.* MLN, XLII, 509-510.

Baldwin, T. W. *Posting Henslowe's Accounts.* JEGP, XXVI, 42-90.

Supplementary to the author's study of the details of Elizabethan dramatic finance in his *Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company* (see below). In this article Professor Baldwin has made an important contribution to Elizabethan theatrical knowledge, especially as it applies to the Admiral's Men, by systematically checking up Henslowe's accounts.

Baldwin, T. W. *Thomas Kyd's Early Company Connections.* PQ, VI, 311-3.

Baskervill, Charles Read. *Conventional Features of Medwall's "Fulgens and Lucres."* MP, XXIV, 419-442.

Barrow, Sarah F., and Hulme, W. H. (trans.). *The Medieval Religious Plays "Antichrist" and "Adam."* Cleveland, 1925.

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Rev. by George R. Coffman in MLN, XLII, 129-133; see Bibl. 1926, p. 216.

Beaumont, Francis, and Fletcher, John. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle.* Fortune Playbooks. London: Robert Holden, 1927.

Rev. by Francis Birrell in Nation & Ath, XL, 764.

Beaumont, Sir John. *The Theatre of Apollo* (*1625*). Edited by W. W. Greg. London: Etchells & Macdonald, 1927.

Bolte, Johannes (ed.). *Drei Märkische Weihnachtspiele des 16. Jahrhundert.* Berlin, 1926.

Rev. by Schröder in Zs. f. dt. Altertum u. dt. Literatur, LXIV, 48-9.

Bradner, Leicester. *The Play of "Marcus Geminus" and its Source.* MLR, XXII, 314-7.

Marcus Geminus was a Latin play produced on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Oxford in 1556. The plot of the play, preserved by Robinson, is thought by Mr. Bradner to have been based on Elyot's *Image of Governaunce*, chs. ix and x.

Brettle, R. E. *Bibliographical Notes on Some Marston Quartos and Early Collected Editions.* Library, N. S. VIII, 336-348.

Brettle, R. E. *John Marston, Dramatist, at Oxford, 1591(?)-1594, 1609.* RES, III, 398-405.

Brettle, R. E. *John Marston, Dramatist: Some New Facts about His Life.* MLR, XXII, 7-14.

Further detail from The Middle Temple Records (ed. Hopwood, 1904) as to Marston's membership in the Middle Temple from about 1594 to 1606; also records from the registry of the Bishop of Oxford, unprinted, of Marston's ordination as deacon Sept. 24, 1609, and as priest Dec. 24, 1609. Marston appears to have returned to Oxford to prepare for his entrance into the church, to have entered St. Mary's Hall, and to have read in the Bodleian Library; other minor details.

Brettle, R. E. *Marston Born in Oxfordshire.* MLR, XXII, 317.

Entries from a recently discovered register of the church of St. Mary Magdalene, Wordington, record the marriage of John Marston's parents on Sept. 19, 1575?, and of Marston's baptism on Oct. 7, 1576? The elder Marston later moved to Coventry, which has hitherto been regarded as the birthplace of the dramatist.

Brettle, R. E. *Samuel Daniel and the Children of the Queen's Revels.* RES, III, 162-8.

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Reprints copies of a bill of complaint and the answer thereto in the Court of Chancery (Chancery Proceedings. Series I. Bundle K4. No. 33) which show that Daniel, according to his own account, went to great trouble and expense to secure the 1604 patent for Kirkham.

Brinkley, R. Florence. *Nathan Field and Nathaniel Field.* MLN, XLII, 10-15.

An attempt to clear up the controversy as to names. Nathan, the actor, was never confused with his brother, Nathaniel, the printer, until Langbaine, *Momus Triumphans*, 1688. Nathan Field, who was a bachelor, died between May 19, 1619, when his name appears in the livery allowance, and Aug. 2, 1620, when letters of administration were granted to his sister Dorcas, wife of Edward Kise, for the settlement of Nathan's estate. The author thinks it was before the production of *Sir John van Olden Barnevelt*, Aug. 1619, since his name does not appear in the list of actors. The death of Nathaniel Field is determined by a commission granted Anne Field, Mar. 26, 1632, for the administration of the goods of her deceased husband Nathaniel. See letter by T. W. Baldwin in LTS, Feb. 17, 1927, p. 108, and Bibl. 1927, p. 303, under Baldwin, T. W.

Brooks, Neil C. *A Rheinau Easter Play of the Late Sixteenth Century.* JEGP, XXVI, 226-236.

Brunner, K. *Die Quellen von Ben Jonsons "Volpone."* Archiv, N. F. LII, 218-9.

Bullock, Helene B. *Thomas Middleton and the Fashion in Playmaking.* PMLA, XLII, 766-776.

The author's thesis is that Middleton wrote his comedies of low life not to satirize or to expose vice, but to satisfy public taste.

Carlell, Lodowick. *The Fool Would Be a Favorit: or The Discreet Lover.* Printed from the edition of 1657; with an Introduction by Allardyce Nicoll. Berkshire Series. Waltham St. Lawrence: The Golden Cockerel Press, 1927. Pp. xiii, 89.

Rev. by L. Cazamian in Rev. ang.-am, 5e an., 172-3.

Carlell, Lodowick. *The Tragedy of Osmond the Great Turk, or The Noble Servant.* Printed from the edition of 1657; with an Introduction by Allardyce Nicoll. Berkshire Series. Waltham St. Lawrence: The Golden Cockerel Press, 1927. Pp. xiii, 59.

Rev. by L. Cazamian in Rev. ang.-am, 5e an., 172-3.

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Chapman, George, and others. *Eastward Hoe.* By Chapman, Jonson, and Marston. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by Julia Hamlet Harris. Yale Univ. Press, 1927. Pp. lviii, 191.

Rev. in LTS, July 21, 1927, p. 500; in N & Q, Vol. 153, p. 162; by Wolfgang Keller in Shakespeare-Jb., N. F. IV, 211-2.

Chaytor, H. J. (ed.). *Dramatic Theory in Spain.* Cambridge Univ. Press, 1926.

Rev. in Lit. Zentralblatt, LXXVIII, 92; by Joseph E. Gillet in MLN, XLII, 47-50; see Bibl. 1927, p. 304.

Child, Harold. *Revivals of English Dramatic Works, 1901-1918, 1926.* RES, III, 169-185.

Clapp, Sarah Lewis Carol. *Peele's Use of Folk Lore in "The Old Wives' Tale."* Univ. of Texas Studies in English, 6. Austin: Univ. of Texas, 1926. Pp. 146-156.

Cohen, Gustav. *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen âge.* Nouvelle édition, revue et augmentée d'une introduction de 56 pages et d'un index analytique de 25 pages. Paris: Champion, 1927. Pp. lvi, 332.

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Notice in LTS, Apr. 14, 1927, p. 267; rev. by A. Digeon in Rev. ang.-am, 5e an., 70.

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Dekker, Thomas. *Shoemaker's Holiday.* Edited by Guy N. Pocock. King's Treasuries of Literature. London: Dent, 1927. Pp. 157.

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Dunkel, Wilbur Dwight. *The Dramatic Technique of Thomas Middleton in His Comedies of London Life.* Diss. Univ. of Chicago. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1926.

Rev. by T. W. Baldwin in JEGP, XXVI, 601-2; see Bibl. 1927, p. 305.

Dunn, Esther Cloudman. *Ben Jonson's Art.* Northampton (Mass.), 1925.

Notice by E. K. C. in MLR, XXII, 244; rev. by W. D. Briggs in MLN, XLII, 543-5; see Bibl. 1927, p. 305.

Ellis-Fermor, U. M. *Christopher Marlowe.* London: Methuen, 1927. Pp. 172.

Rev. in LTS, Mar. 3, 1927, p. 140; by Barrington Gates in Nation & Ath, XL, 761-2; by F. C. Danchin in Rev. ang.-am, 5e an., 165-7; by John Freeman in London Mercury, XVI, 102.

Evans, Joan (trans.). *Saint Joan of Orleans.* Scenes from the Fifteenth-Century Mystère du Siège d'Orléans. Selected and translated by Joan Evans. The text edited by Paul Studer. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.

Rev. by M. K. Pope in MLR, XXII, 341-3; in Library, N. S. VII, 435.

Fenton, Frank L. *The Authorship of Acts III and IV of "The Queen of Corinth."* MLN, XLII, 94-6.

Takes exception to H. Dugdale Sykes's (*Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama*) finding the evidence for Nathaniel Field's authorship of the *Triumph of Honor* and the *Triumph of Love* in their similarity to Acts III and IV of the *Queen of Corinth.* Mr. Fenton concludes, by tests of style, metre, and attitude, that Field did not write these two acts; see Bibl. 1926, p. 229, under Sykes, H. Dugdale.

Ferguson, Lucile. *Some Early Masks and Morris Dances.* MP, XXIV, 409-417.

Contains a list of *momeries, morisques, mimes,* and mystery and miracle plays drawn from Ménabréa's *Chroniques de Yolande de France* (Académie des Sciences, belles-lettres, et arts de Savoie, Chambéry, 1859, Vol. I).

Fischer, Walther. *Zu Ludwig Tiecks elizabethischen Studien: Tieck als Ben Jonson-Philologe.* Shakespeare-Jb., N. F. III, 98-131.

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Fleming, W. *Andreas Gryphius und die Bühne.* Halle, 1921.

Rev. by Friedrich Michael in Zs. f. dt. Philologie, LI, 482-492.

Ford, John. *A Critical Edition of Ford's "Perkin Warbeck."* Edited by Mildred Clara Struble. Univ. of Washington Press, 1926.

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Golding, S. R. *The Parliament of Bees.* RES, III, 280-304.

There is extant of Day's *Parliament of Bees* a quarto version of 1641 and a manuscript copy (Lansdowne 725). Mr. Golding's article deals with the sources of the two versions. He conjectures that Day was indebted to the lost plays *The Spanish Fig* and *Come See a Wonder* for nine of the *Characters* in the *Bees.* In the quarto version, however, *Characters* 4 and 5 are from *The Noble Soldier* and *Characters* 2, 3, 7, 9, and 10 from *The Wonder of a Kingdom, Characters* 1, 6, 11, and 12 being of Day's own composition.

Golding, S. R. *The "Parnassus" Plays.* N & Q, Vol. 153, pp. 363-6.

Gives a summary of opinions on the origin and authorship of the plays and concludes that the author was familiar with Cambridge (possibly a contemporary of Nash's) and with the literary haunts of Elizabethan London.

Gray, Austin K. *Robert Armine, the Foole.* PMLA, XLII, 673-685.

Reconstructs Armine's character from his writings and the parts he is known to have taken in Shakespeare's plays. The author notes the change, with Touchstone, in the type of fool in the plays, and considers it reasonable that the change reflects Armine, who joined the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1599, taking Kempe's place.

Greene, Robert. *The Honourable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay.* The Fortune Playbooks, edited by G. B. Harrison. London: Holden, 1927. Pp. 102.

Notice in LTS, Mar. 31, 1927, p. 235.

Greg, W. W. *Nathan Field and the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1679.* RES, III, 337-8.

Greg, W. W. *Some Notes on the Stationers' Registers.* Library, N. S. VII, 376-386.

Notes of importance concerning *David and Bethsabe, Old Fortunatus,* and other plays, and a strong indication that the entry of

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the book of Doctor Faustus, Dec. 18, 1582, refers to the *History of Faustus*, and not to Marlowe's play.

Gundolf, Friedrich. *Die dramatische Aufgabe des Andreas Gryphius.* Aus eine noch unveröffentlichen Gesamtdarstellung. Schlesische Mhe., Jan. 1927, 17-22.

Harbeson, William Page. *The Elizabethan Influence on the Tragedy of the Late Eighteenth and the Early Nineteenth Centuries.* Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1927. Pp. 85.

Notice in LTS, Feb. 10, 1927, p. 94; in MLN, XLII, XXV.

Hillebrand, Harold N. *The Child Actors.* Univ. of Illinois Press, 1926.

Rev. by C. R. B. in MP, XXIV, 498-9; by R. E. Brettle in RES, III, 482-4; by Wolfgang Keller in Shakespeare-Jb., N. F. IV, 206-7; see Bibl. 1927, p. 308.

Hillebrand, Harold N. *Thomas Middleton's "The Viper's Brood."* MLN, XLII, 35-8.

Quotes the record of suit (Coram Rege Rolls, Trinity Pt. II, A° 7 Jas. I, memb. 1056b) brought by Robert Keysar, goldsmith and manager of the Revels Children, probably after 1606, against Middleton. Middleton claimed that he had satisfied a debt of £16 to Keysar by the delivery of a tragedy called *The Viper and Her Brood.* The suit was brought in Trinity term, 1609.

Holthausen, F. *Das Wakefielder Spiel von Kain und Abel.* Eng. Stud, LXII, 132-151.

Hotson, J. Leslie. *The Death of Christopher Marlowe.* Harvard Univ. Press, 1925.

Rev. by Robert Adger Law in JEGP, XXVI, 132-5; see Bibl. 1927, p. 308.

Jodelle, Estienne. *Cléopâtre Captive: Tragédie.* Paris: Garnier, 1925. Pp. 111.

Rev. in LTS, Feb. 17, 1927, p. 102; see also *The First French Tragedy* by F. E. Budd in LTS, Feb. 24, 1927, p. 126, which supports Professor F. Neri (Gior. storico, LXXIV, 50-63) in his argument that Jodelle's play is based primarily on Cesari's *Cleopatra.*

Jonson, Ben. *The Alchemist.* Replica of First Quarto. The Noel Douglas Replicas. London: Noel Douglas, 1927.

Rev. in LTS, July 21, 1927, p. 500; notice in Nation & Ath, XL, 828.

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Jonson, Ben. *Ben Jonson.* Edited by C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson. Vol. III. *A Tale of a Tub, The Case Is Altered, Every Man in his Humour, Every Man out of his Humour.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. Pp. xv, 618.

Rev. in LTS, July 21, 1927, p. 500; notice in MLN, XLII, xxxv; rev. (*Ben Jonson*) by Leonard Woolf in Nation & Ath, XLI, 447; by Wolfgang Keller in Shakespeare-Jb., N. F. IV, 212-3; see Bibl. 1927, p. 308, under Herford, C. H., and Simpson, Percy.

Jonson, Ben. *Everyman in his Humour.* Fortune Playbooks. London: Holden, 1927.

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Küchler, Walter. *Zur Beurteilung von Machiavellis Komödie "La Mandragola."* In *Kultur-und Universalgeschichte* (Goetz-Festschrift, Leipzig, 1927), pp. 171-182.

Lancaster, H. Carrington. *The Origin of the Lyric Monologue in French Classical Tragedy.* PMLA, XLII, 782-7.

Law, Robert Adger. *Further Notes on "Two Lamentable Trage dies."* N & Q, Vol. 153, pp. 93-4.

See Bibl. 1927, p. 307, under Golding, S. R.

Lawrence, William J. *John Honeyman, the Caroline Actor Dramatist.* RES, III, 220-2.

Lawrence, William J. *The Physical Conditions of the Elizabethan Public Playhouse.* Harvard Univ. Press, 1927. Pp. viii, 129.

Rev. in LTS, Dec. 8, 1927, p. 927; notice in MLN, XLII, xxxv; rev. by Wolfgang Keller in Shakespeare-Jb., N. F. IV, 204-5.

Lawrence, William J. *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies.* Harvard Univ. Press, 1927. Pp. ix, 435.

Rev. in LTS, Dec. 8, 1927, p. 927.

Lawton, Harold Walter. *Térence en France au XVI^e siècle.* Paris, 1926.

Rev. in LTS, Mar. 3, 1927, p. 144; by Pierre Jourda in R du XVIe s, XIV, 180-2; see Bibl. 1927, p. 309.

Lescarbot, Marc. *The Theatre of Neptune.* Translated by Har-

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riette Taber Richardson. Limited edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927.

Notice by Frederick M. Hopkins in Sat. Rev. of Literature, IV, 127; by C. P. Rollins and G. P. Winship, *ibid.*, IV, 335.

Lloyd, Bertram. *Anthony Munday, Dramatist.* N & Q, Vol. 152, p. 98.

Two hitherto unprinted entries relative to Munday from Repertory Books of the City Record Office, Guildhall. The first (Mar. 3, 1630-1) directs that the "booke . . . contayning the armes of divers Aldrēn . . . shalbe delivered to him to perfect the booke now intended by him to be published in pri[n]t." The second entry directs the payment of £10 to Munday's widow towards the charge of printing the *Survey of London.*

Lloyd, Bertram. *"The Noble Soldier"* and *"The Welsh Ambassador."* RES, III, 304-7.

Notes hitherto unnoticed relations between *The Noble Soldier* and *The Welsh Ambassador*, both of which the author regards as mainly the work of Dekker. The article is intended as a supplement to Mr. S. R. Golding's article *The Parliament of Bees* in the same issue of RES; see above.

Lüdecke, H. *Ludwig Tieck und das alte englische Theater.* Dt. Forschungen, 6. Frankfort a. M., 1922. Pp. viii, 373.

Rev. by K. Vietor in Literaturblatt, XLVIII, 257-9.

Lynch, Kathleen Martha. *The Social Mode of Restoration Comedy.* University of Michigan Publications. Language and Literature, Vol. III. New York: Macmillan, 1926. Pp. xi, 242.

Rev. in LTS, Feb. 24, 1927, p. 122; protest by George Gordon in LTS, Mar. 3, 1927, p. 144; see also LTS, leading article on *Thomas Middleton*, June 30, 1927, p. 446; rev. in N & Q, Vol. 152, pp. 89-90.

The author traces the continuity of English drama from the Elizabethan period to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

MacIntosh, Donald T. *"New Dress'd in the Habits of the Times."* LTS, Aug. 25, 1927, p. 575.

A study of the methods and intentions of the revivals of Shakespeare and other older dramatists during the eighteenth century.

Mackenzie, Agnes Mure. *The Playgoer's Handbook to the English Renaissance Drama.* London: Cape, 1927. Pp. 191.

Notice in LTS, Aug. 25, 1927, p. 577; letter by Agnes Mure Mackenzie, LTS, Sept. 29, 1927, p. 608; notice in Nation & Ath, XL, 822.

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McPharlin, Paul. *Ben Jonson: Inigo Jones: Inventors.* Mask, XII, 10-4.

Magni, M. *Il tipo dello zanni nella commedia dell' arte in Italia.* Bergamum, N. S. I, 3 and 4, 1927.

Notice in Rev. litt. comp, 7e an., 765.

Magoun, F. P., Jr. *Hermus vs. Hormuz.* PMLA, XLII, 670-2.

The identification of "Harmus" in *The Drinking Academy, or the Cheaters' Holiday* (II, ii) with the river Hermus instead of with the Island of Hormuz.

Makkink, H. J. *Philip Massinger and John Fletcher: A Comparison.* Amsterdam diss. Rotterdam: Nijgh & van Ditmar's U. M., 1927. Pp. 207.

Massinger, Philip. *Massinger's A New Way to Pay Old Debts.* Edited by A. H. Cruickshank. Oxford, 1926.

Notice by E. K. C. in MLR, XXII, 244-5; rev. in N & Q, Vol. 152, p. 36; by A. Eichler in Beiblatt, XXXVIII, 243-5; by S. R. Golding in RES, III, 480-1; by Wolfgang Keller in Shakespeare-Jb., N. F. IV, 211; see Bibl. 1927, p. 305, under Cruickshank, A. H.

Medwall, Henry. *"Fulgens and Lucres."* Edited by F. S. Boas and A. W. Reed. Oxford, 1926.

Rev. by Walter Worrall in MLR, XXII, 210-3; by R. B. McK. in RES, III, 83-5; by F. C. Danchin in Rev.-am, 4e an., 445-6; by René Pruvost in Rev. de l'enseignement des langues vivantes, 44e an., 356-7; see John Purves, *A Note on "Fulgens and Lucres,"* LTS, Apr. 14, 1927, p. 265; also letter by Mr. Purves, *The "Disputacyon of Noblenes,"* LTS, July 7, 1927, p. 472; see Bibl. 1927, p. 303, under Boas, F. S., and Reed, A. W.

Mic, Constant. *La commedia dell'arte ou le théâtre des comédiens italiens des XVI^e^, XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles.* Paris: J. Schiffrin, 1927. Pp. xiv, 239.

Notice in Rev. litt. comp, 7e an., 766.

Moore, John Robert. *The Songs in Lyly's Plays.* PMLA, XLII, 623-640.

Morley, Christopher. *"O Rare Ben Jonson."—An American Emendation.* The Times (London), July 6, 1927, p. 19, col. 5.

Notice in N & Q, Vol. 153, p. 20; see M. H. Spielmann, *Orare Christopher Morley,* Bookman's Jour., Third Series, XV, 94-100.

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The article refers to an eight-page tract, ***My one Contribution to Seventeenth Century Scholarship,*** privately printed for Mr. Morley, which advances the suggestion that the epitaph in Westminster Abbey "O Rare Ben Jonson" should be amended to "Orare Ben Jonson."

Mortier, Alfred. *Un dramaturge populaire de la Renaissance: Ruzzante.* Paris, 1925, 1926.

Rev. by Walter L. Bullock in MP, XXV, 237-240; by H. Hauvette in Études italiennes, VIII, fasc. 2; by Berthold Wiese in Literaturblatt, XLVIII, 274-5; notice in Rev. litt. comp, 7e an., 368; see also G. S. Gargáno, *Ruzzante tradotto in francese,* Marzocco, 21 Nov., 1927; and G. Toffanin, *Œuvres Complètes,* etc., in La Cultura, VI, f. 5; see Bibl. 1927, p. 310.

Müller, Walther. *Der schauspielerische Stil im Passionspiel im Mittelalters.* Leipzig: Eichblatt, 1927. Pp. 140.

Notice in Lit. Zentralblatt, LXXVIII, 396.

Nicoll, Allardyce. *The Development of the Theatre. A Study of Theatrical Arts from the Beginnings to the Present Day.* London: Harrap, 1927. Pp. 247.

Rev. in LTS, Aug. 4, 1927, p. 531; by Bonamy Dobrée in Nation & Ath, XLI, 554.

Oliphant, E. H. C. *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher.* An Attempt to determine their respective Shares and the Shares of others. Yale Univ. Press, 1927. Pp. xvii, 553.

Rev. by T. W. Baldwin in Sat. Rev. of Literature, IV, 283; see letter by W. J. Lawrence in LTS, Nov. 24, 1927, p. 888, on *The Date of "The Mad Lover."*

A vigorously written book expressing in connected order many of the views on the Beaumont and Fletcher plays already rendered familiar to scholars by Mr. Oliphant in his numerous contributions to periodicals over a period of more than thirty years. The book also contains new matter and adjusted opinions. It is certainly a matter of great importance to scholars in the field of Elizabethan drama that this book has been published. The author has great ingenuity and insight and a ready command of the technique of English scholarship of the period which is just passing. One need not speak of the boldness of conjecture which characterizes the book. Many of the views expressed have already met with vigorous opposition and will continue to meet with it.

Petracconi, E. *La commedia dell'arte.* Storia—tecnica—scenari. Napoli: Ricciardi, 1927. Pp. xiii, 458.

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Reed, A. W. *Early Tudor Drama.* London, 1926.

Rev. in Manchester Guardian Weekly, Jan. 28, 1927, p. 73; by John Berdan in Sat. Rev. of Literature, IV, 56; by A. W. P. in Library, N. S. VII, 423-5; by Sir E. K. Chambers in MLR, XXII, 208-210; by John M. Manly in RES, III, 350-2; by Richard Aldington in Nation & Ath, XL, 541-2; by Wolfgang Keller in Shakespeare-Jb., N. F. IV, 209; see also W. H. Grattan Flood, *Early Tudor Drama,* RES, III, 445-6; see Bibl. 1927, p. 311.

Richter, Helene. *Ben Jonsons "Volpone" und sein Erneuerer Stefan Schweig.* Shakespeare-Jb., N. F. IV, 183-190.

Riddle, Lawrence Melville. *The Genesis and Sources of Pierre Corneille's Tragedies from "Médée" to "Perthartite."* Johns Hopkins Press, 1926.

Rev. in Sat. Rev. of Literature, III, 646.

Rolland, Joachim. *Le théâtre comique en France avant le XV^e^ siècle* (essai bibliographique). Paris: éditions de la "Revue des études littéraires," 1927. Pp. 135.

Schelling, Felix E. *Elizabethan Playwrights.* New York, 1925

Rev. by Frederick Morgan Padelford in MLN, XLII, 133-4; by Wolfgang Keller in Shakespeare-Jb., N. F. IV, 208; see Bibl. 1926, p. 227.

Sedgwick, W. B. *The History of a Latin Comedy.* RES, III, 346-9.

Deals with the history of the *Amphitruo* in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Seneca, Marcus Annæus. *Seneca, His Tenne Tragedies.* Translated into English. Edited by Thomas Newton (1581). With an Introduction by T. S. Eliot. Two vols. London: Constable, 1927.

Rev. by Richard Aldington in Nation & Ath, XLII, 159; for European connections see an article by Paul Faider, *Le théâtre de Sénèque,* Rev. belge, V, 323-338.

Shear, Rosetta E. *New Facts about Henry Porter.* PMLA, XLII, 641-655.

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Sisson, Charles. *"Keep the Widow Waking:" A Lost Play by Dekker.* Library, N. S. VIII, 39-57, 233-259.

See Carl P. Rollins and George P. Winship, *"A Game,"* Sat. Rev. of Literature, IV, 315, in which the authors comment on the new bibliographical method and on Mr. Sisson's reconstruction of the lost play; see also N & Q, Vol. 153, p. 37.

Spence, Leslie. *Tamburlaine and Marlowe.* PLMA, XLII, 604-622.

An attempt to show that the identification of Tamburlaine with Marlowe's own character is fanciful. The author points out the close resemblance of Marlowe's hero to sources, and shows the dramatic necessity of such additions or changes as Marlowe has made.

Spencer, Hazelton. *The Forger at Work: a New Case against Collier.* PQ, VI, 32-8.

Finds forgeries in a manuscript history of the London stage from 1660 to 1723 by John Payne Collier.

Sprague, Arthur Colby. *Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage.* Harvard Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. xx, 229.

Notice in LTS, Feb. 17, 1927, p. 109; rev. in N & Q, Vol. 152, pp. 186-7; by Tucker Brooke in Sat. Rev. of Literature, III, 756; by Allardyce Nicoll in RES, III, 370-1; by Osbert Burdett in London Mercury, XV, 437; see Bibl. 1927, p. 313.

Stauffer, Ruth M. *The Progress of Drama through the Centuries.* New York: Macmillan, 1927.

Steel, Byron. *O Rare Ben Jonson.* New York: Knopf, 1927. Pp. 158.

Rev. by Gordon Hall Gerould in Sat. Rev. of Literature, IV, 236; in Nation & Ath, XLII, 250-2; see Book Rev. Digest, 1927.

Steele, Mary Susan. *Plays and Masques at Court during the Reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles.* Yale Univ. Press, 1927. Pp. xii, 300.

Rev. in LTS, Aug. 11, 1927, p. 545; in N & Q, Vol. 153, p. 17.

Sykes, H. Dugdale. *Notes on the Text of "The Merry Devil of Edmonton."* N & Q, Vol. 153, p. 187.

Sykes, H. Dugdale. *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama.* Oxford Univ. Press, 1924.

Rev. by W. D. Briggs in MLN, XLII, 545-6; see Bibl. 1926, p. 229.

Tannenbaum, Samuel A. *Corrections to the Text of "Believe As You List."* PMLA, XLII, 777-781.

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Tilley, M. P. *The Comedy "Lingua" and Du Bartas' "La Sepmaine."* MLN, XLII, 293-9.

The Times Literary Supplement. Leading Article. *Thomas Middleton.* LTS, June 30, 1927, pp. 445-6.

The article presents Middleton as an entirely obscure personality, one of the best dramatists of his time, one who understood the female; the genius which "blazed in *The Changeling* was fitful but not accidental."

Turner, R. *Didon dans la tragédie de la Renaissance italienne et française.* Thèse Univ. de Paris, 1926.

Notice in Rev. litt. comp, 7e an., 375.

Turner, Robert E. *An Early Edition of the "Geta" of Vital de Blois.* MLN, XLII, 459-464.

A printed version of the *Geta* (taken from Plautus' *Amphitruo*) done between 1490-1500.

Webster, John. *The Complete Works of John Webster.* Edited by F. L. Lucas. Four vols. London: Chatto and Windus, 1927. Pp. xvi, 288; 372; vi, 339; vii, 274.

Rev. (*John Webster*) by Leonard Woolf in Nation & Ath, XLII, 454.

Welsford, Enid. *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels.* Cambridge Univ. Press, 1927. Pp. xv, 434.

Rev. in LTS, Aug. 11, 1927, p. 545; in N & Q, Vol. 153, p. 89; by Tucker Brooke in Sat. Rev. of Literature, IV, 430; by Richard Aldington in Nation & Ath, XLI, 667; by Wolfgang Keller in Shakespeare-Jb., N. F. IV, 207; notice by F. U. in Gior. storico, XC, 379-380; by Edgell Rickwood in Calendar, IV, 168-170.

An exhaustive study of the origin, history, and influence of the masque, and of the significance of the revels.

Winslow, Ola Elizabeth. *Low Comedy as a Structural Element in English Drama from the Beginnings to 1642.* Diss. Univ. of Chicago. Chicago Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. xi, 186.

Notice in MLN, XLII, xxxvi; rev. by Allardyce Nicoll in RES, III, 485-6.

Wolff, Max J. *Zu Arden von Feversham.* Die Neueren Sprachen, XXXV, 424-7.

Wright, Louis B. *Animal Actors on the English Stage before 1642.* PMLA, XLII, 656-669.

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Wright, Louis B. *Elizabethan Sea Drama and its Staging.* Anglia, N. F. XXXIX, 104-118.

Wright, Louis B. *Juggling Tricks and Conjury on the English Stage before 1642.* MP, XXIV, 269-284.

Wright, Louis B. *The Male-Friendship Cult in Thomas Heywood's Plays.* MLN, XLII, 510-514.

Wright, Louis B. *Stage Duelling in the Elizabethan Theatre.* MLR, XXII, 265-275.

General article dealing with the Elizabethan taste for fencing, the skill in swordsmanship of actors, and duels in the drama.

Wright, Louis B. *Variety Entertainment by Elizabethan Strolling Players.* JEGP, XXVI, 294-303.

Suggests that the practice gained by performing vaudeville to please country taste while the companies were on tour in the provinces may have influenced them in inserting extraneous and incongruous matter, even in the stateliest tragedies, in performances on the London stage.

Yates, Frances A. *Some New Light on "L'Écossaise" of Antoine de Montchrétien.* MLR, XXII, 285-297.

Details with reference to the storm raised by *L'Écossaise*, a play dealing with the story of Mary Queen of Scots, which called forth protests (1601 and 1604) by the English ambassadors to Paris. The play is said to be based on Mathieu's *Histoire des derniers troubles* (1597).

III. Shakespeare.

Addy, S. O. *The Proving of Shakespeare's Will.* N & Q, Vol. 153, pp. 291-2.

Addy, S. O. *Textual Notes on Shakespeare: "The Winter's Tale."* N & Q, Vol. 152, pp. 336-7.

The Winter's Tale, II, i, 142.

Albright, Evelyn May. *Shakespeare's "Richard II" and the Essex Conspiracy.* PMLA, XLII, 686-720.

The author finds sources for incidents and motivation in *Richard II*, which are not in Holinshed and apply to Elizabeth's own reign, in Sir John Hayward's *First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie the Fourth*, published in 1599. This book, which may have been in MS. some years before publication, deals almost wholly with Richard II, and was brought up in the Essex trial as being a treasonous book. Miss Albright identifies the play given for the conspirators on the eve of their plot, February 7, 1601, with *Richard II*, and

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surmises that Essex is referred to in York's references to Hereford (II, i, 163-185, 187-208). On the assumption that the play is a political allegory, it is easy to explain, as the work of the censor, the absence of the deposition scene in the earlier quartos.

Anders, Heinrich. *Randglossen zu Shakespeares Belesenheit.* Shakespeare-Jb., N. F. III, 158-162.

Anderson, Ruth L. *Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays.* University of Iowa Studies, Vol. III, No. 4. Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa, 1927. Pp. 182.

This study attempts, first of all, to determine the nature and extent of psychological knowledge in Shakespeare's England, drawing its materials from manuals of psychology in the vernacular and from literary treatments of psychological themes. On this basis it proves that Shakespeare used freely and intelligently the terminology of Elizabethan psychology, resorting to it to express and to comprehend the psychological situations of his characters. It deals largely with the behavior of the passions and the interrelations of the faculties of the soul as understood by Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and, in the final chapter, with the bearings of Elizabethan psychology on action and character in Shakespeare's plays.

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The article by Sir Mark Hunter referred to has the same title as the one here listed and was published in RES, II, 295-310. Mr. Wilson's contention is that during the period when Shakespeare's company was engaged at the Globe, act-pauses were little regarded; but, when the company began to act at Blackfriars, with its musical traditions, they began at the same to introduce act-pauses into such plays as they performed there.

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The treatise is called *The Poor Husbandman's Advocate to Rich Racking Landlords . . . by Gildas Salvanius.*

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Byrom, H. J. *Tottel's Miscellany, 1717-1817.* RES, III, 47-53.

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The author points out the similarity of Milton's description of Adam and Eve to Mabuse's painting, and suggests a possible influence of the picture upon Milton. For further support of the hypothesis see correspondence in LTS (under *Milton and Mabuse*) as follows: Ernest Law, Feb. 24, 1927, p. 126; C. W. B., Mar. 3, 1927, p. 144.

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SHAKESPEARE AND *TITUS ANDRONICUS*

By Austin K. Gray

On January 23, 1594, Henslowe noted in his diary that the Earl of Sussex' Servants acted *Titus Andronicus* under his auspices at the Rose Theatre. He added the information that the play was "*new.*" The performance was repeated again on January 28 and on February 6; and, to judge from the financial returns from each of these three performances, the play was a very great success.

On February 6, 1594, the day of the last performance, John Danter entered *A Noble Roman Historye of Tytus Andronicus* for publication on the Stationers' Register. Before June 3 this volume, Quarto I, was on sale "at the little North doore of Paules at the signe of the Gunne." The title-page ran as follows:

> *The Most Lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus; As it was Plaide by the Right Honourable The Earl of Darbie, Earl of Pembrooke, and Earle of Sussex their Servants.*

Now, when Henslowe says that a play is "*new,*" he sometimes means no more than that it has been largely re-written. This is undoubtedly what he means when he says that the *Titus Andronicus* which was acted at the Rose on January 23, 1594, was "*new.*" For we have conclusive evidence that an older play upon that subject was already in existence before 1594. In a comedy entitled *A Merry Knacke to Knowe a Knave,* one of the characters, Osric, addresses King Edgar as follows:

> **My gracious lord, as welcome shall you be**
> **To me, my daughter and my son-in-law,**
> **As Titus was unto the Roman Senators,**

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> When he had made a conquest on the Goths;
> That in requital of his service done,
> Did offer him the imperial diadem.
> As they in Titus, we in your grace still find
> The perfect figure of a princely mind.

This speech is an obvious reference to the opening scene of *Titus Andronicus,* as we find it in our present version of the play, both in Danter's Quarto of 1594 and in the Folio of 1623. *The Knacke* was entered for publication on the Stationers' Register on January 7, 1594, a fortnight *before* the performance of the "*new*" *Titus Andronicus* by the Sussex men at the Rose. The reference, therefore, proves that before 1594, there was a play about *Titus Andronicus* acted upon the London stage, well enough known to yield an allusion in a popular contemporary comedy. *The Knacke* is first mentioned as a "*new*" play, performed by the Lord Strange's men, in Henslowe's diary for June 10, 1592,[1] so that we might suppose that *Titus Andronicus* was known upon the London stage long before that date. This is not quite so certain, however. In the first place, *The Knacke* shows signs by its style and subject-matter of being a much older play than 1592, so that by "*new*" Henslowe again must mean "*revised*" for the performance on June 10. In the second place, we gather from the title-page of its 1594 quarto that, *after* it passed into the hands of the Strange company, the play was repeatedly doctored for the benefit of Edward Allen and Will Kempe, so that this allusion to *Titus Andronicus* may have crept into the text *between* June 10, 1592, and January 7, 1594. In any case, as Henslowe states the play was "*new*" in June, 1592, and as Allen did not join the Strange Company until February 19, 1592, it is improbable that these lines were inserted much before February 19—more probably *between* February 19 and June 10, 1592.[2] In other words, The old *Titus Andronicus* may not be much older than Feb. 1592, perhaps younger than June, 1592.

[1] Or perhaps June 11. The *Diary* says between June 9 and 12. The performance was repeated June 15 and 22, and four times between Dec. 29, 1592, and Jan. 25, 1593.

[2] Cf. the title-page, S. R., Feb.-Jan. 7, 1594: "A comedie entitled A Knacke to Knowe a Knave, newly set forth, as it hath sundrye tymes ben plaid by Ned Allen and his Companie, with Kemps applauded Merymentes

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Another proof that there was already in existence an older play on the subject of *Titus Andronicus* before January 23, 1594, lies in the statement made by Danter that the play had been acted by the Earl of Pembroke's Servants.[3] This company is not heard of either in the provinces, the city, or at Court until the last few months of 1592. It was acting at Leicester in October, 1592, and at Court on December 26, 1592, and January 6, 1593. One of its plays, Marlowe's *Edward II,* was entered on the Stationers' Register, July 6, 1593. From Kyd's examination we learn that Marlowe had been engaged in writing plays for the company for a year or so before his death in May, 1593. Kyd, too, may have been associated with the company just about that time. Last of all, from a letter of Henslowe to his son-in-law, Allen, dated September 28, 1593, we learn that after a disastrous tour in the provinces, the company had returned to London and was pawning its play apparel to pay its charges.[4] After that date we hear no more of this particular Pembroke company. By the middle of 1594 we find that some of its members have been drafted into the Lord Admiral's Company and others into the new Lord Chamberlain's Company, both at that time under the management of Henslowe. One by one, too, its plays fall into the hands of the booksellers: *Edward II* (S. R. July 6, 1593?), *Edward I* (S. R. October 8, 1593), *Titus Andronicus* (S. R. February 6, 1594), *Contention of York and Lancaster* (S. R. March 12, 1594), *Taming of a Shrew* (S. R. May 2, 1594). Not only did the company lose its plays to the booksellers. The acting-rights in them passed first to Henslowe and his numerous companies, and finally were by him handed over in June of 1594 to the Lord Chamberlain's Servants.

It is obvious what had happened. Soon after September 28,

of the Men of Goteham." The *Titus Andronicus* lines, in style, are obviously part of the revision, made for Allen. Feb. 19-June 10, 1592, is one possible period for their insertion, as given above; Dec. 29, 1592-Jan. 25, 1593 (cf. note above), the other.

[3] For all references to movements of companies, v. J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies;* E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage,* Vol. II; F. G. Fleay, *The London Stage,* 1559-1642 (ed. 1909).

[4] "As for my lord a Penbrockes wch you desier to knowe wheare they be, they ar all at home and hausse ben this V or sixe weackes, for they cane not save ther carges wth travell, as I heare, and weare fayne to pane ther parell for ther carge." *Dulwich MS.,* ed. G. F. Warner, 1881.

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1593, the Pembroke Company had broken up, and Henslowe had taken charge both of its actors and its plays. Therefore, the *Titus Andronicus* which the Pembroke Company had performed was an older play than the *"new" Titus Andronicus* of January 23, 1594. And, inasmuch as the Pembroke Company is not heard of before October of 1592, it is unlikely that it was acting in London much before that year. In that case, again we find that the earliest date for the first performance of this older and unrevised version of *Titus Andronicus* would lie somewhere in 1592, or, at the earliest, in late 1591.

If we needed further evidence that the tragedy had been revised for performance by the Sussex men, we have only to turn to Danter's Quarto of 1594 (or, for that matter, to either of the later quartos or to the Folio text of 1623). The greater part of Act I is written in the poorest of blank verse. The author here is a mere journeyman, who counts his syllables, bangs his accents and brings his meaning to an end at the close of every other line. An admirer of Seneca, to judge from his tags of Latin, naturally he is a rhetorician and not a poet; he is ignorant of the elemental devices of poetry, and in his desire to achieve force and energy, achieves nothing more than dreary bombast. But in Act II, almost at once, the rhythm of the blank verse changes; it becomes more fluent, more musical; the meaning undulates easily from line to line, pausing in mid-air, turning back on itself in a parenthesis or a rhetorical question, lingering now and then to sport with a conceit or a metaphor. The general spirit of the two acts is different as well. Outrage and horror abound in both, but whereas the rhetorician of Act I staggers clumsily from one horror to another, without stopping to warn, explain or analyze, the poet of Act II foreshadows his horrors by omens, dreams, and ironical asides, and tries to relieve them of something of their naked crudity by investing them with pathos and sentiment. In a word, the poet of Act II, a trifle mellifluous, perhaps, and sentimental, is going over the work of the clumsy rhetorician of Act I, bringing the blank verse up to more poetic heights and mitigating, as far as possible, some of the more revolting of the outrages on the stage.

This revision must have been made, at Henslowe's request, after he had acquired the acting rights in the play; that is to say, at some time between September 28, 1593, when we first hear of the

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impending break-up of the Pembroke Company, and January 23, 1594, when we find the play being acted at the Rose by the Sussex Company. We can, perhaps, narrow the period yet a little more. From April 29 to December 7 of 1593 the Sussex Company was touring the provinces. At some time after December 7, it found its way back to London, and on December 27 opened a season, under Henslowe's management, at the Rose, which lasted until February 6, 1594. Probably, therefore, when the Sussex men returned in December of 1593, Henslowe handed over *Titus Andronicus* to them for performance, but before it was staged at the Rose he had it revised and partly re-written. If that be the case, the period for revision narrows down to December 7, 1593-January 23, 1594—a period of six or seven weeks only.

The later history of *Titus Andronicus* is as follows: On February 6, 1594, the date of its third performance by the Sussex men, the theatres were closed on account of the "sickness" and remained closed until the end of March. On Easter Monday, April 1, the Rose opened once more, and the Sussex men acted there in conjunction with the Queen's men until April 9. No performance of *Titus Andronicus* was given then, and after April 9 the Sussex Company was dissolved by Henslowe and probably merged into the Queen's Men. Henslowe then cast the play at a new company. Somewhere about the middle of May, yet another of the numerous companies under his care returned to London after a prolonged exile in the provinces. In the past eighteen months it had changed its name several times. It had left London about February 6, 1593, as the Lord Strange's Servants, later it became the Earl of Derby's Servants, later still, the Countess of Derby's Servants, and finally by the end of May, 1594, it was known as the Lord Chamberlain's Servants. Under this title it opened at Newington Butts, under Henslowe and in conjunction with the Lord Admiral's Servants. The season lasted from June 3 to June 13, and after June 15 the Chamberlain's men definitely severed their connection with Henslowe. During that ten days' season at Newington Butts they acted *Titus Andronicus* twice: on June 5 and June 13. This was not the only one of the former Pembroke plays that they acted; on June 9 they acted the older *Hamlet* (ascribed to Kyd),[5] and on

[5] It is generally assumed that the older *Hamlet* was a Pembroke play and that it was written by Kyd. Neither assumption has been definitely proved yet.

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June 11, *The Taming of a Shrew.* Possibly the *Hester and Ahasuerus* which they acted on June 3 and June 10 may also have been a Pembroke play. After their parting with Henslowe on June 15, the Chamberlain's men retained the acting rights of *Titus Andronicus* and the other Pembroke plays; and, in later years, some of them, notably *Hamlet* and *The Taming of a Shrew,* were re-written by Shakespeare.

In 1598 comes Meres' *Palladis Tamia* (S. R., September 5), in which *Titus Andronicus* is definitely listed as one of the six tragedies of Shakespeare. This ascription within five years of the first acting of the play would lead us to suppose that Shakespeare was the poet who revised the old play for performance in January, 1594. Scholars who are averse to linking up Shakespeare with the most atrocious tragedy on the Elizabethan stage have sought to belittle the credit of Meres. The facts about him are briefly as follows:[6] He was living in Botolph Lane in the city of London when he wrote his *Palladis Tamia.* He belonged to a circle of scholars, literary amateurs and booksellers, all of whom took a keen interest in contemporary letters. John Bodenham, the compiler of *Belvedere,* was its leading spirit. Other members of the group were Robert Allott, the compiler of *England's Parnassus;* Anthony Munday, the literary Jack of all trades; Robin Tofte, the poet of *Alba* (one of the first poets to mention Shakespeare in his works); John Weever (who, in his *Epigrams,* addressed an admiring Sonnet to "honey-tongued Shakespeare"), and among the booksellers, Nicholas Ling (who afterwards published the first quarto of *Hamlet*), and Cuthbert Burby (the publisher of *Love's Labour's Lost,* 1598, and *Romeo and Juliet,* 1599). Though none of these men could be called a shining light in the literary firmament, the group, as a whole, had some shadowy association with the more academic of the greater poets—with Michael Drayton, George Chapman, and Ben Jonson (in the days of his dramatic hackwork). All things considered, therefore, Meres was moving in circles where a good deal of first-hand knowledge might be picked up about poets, playwrights, and plays. He knew enough about Chapman, at any rate, to have heard of his still unfinished translation of Homer, and about Shakespeare to have heard of his sugared sonnets in circula-

[6] For details about Meres, Allott, and their circle, v. *D. N. B.* and *England's Parnassus,* ed. C. Crawford (Introduction).

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tion among his private friends; in fact, where Shakespeare was concerned, with Tofte and Weever for companions, he was among a set of men whole-heartedly given to the worship of "honey-tongued Shakespeare." But, from the point of view of our study of *Titus Andronicus,* he had one particularly important acquaintance. From the tone of his *Palladis Tamia,* it is clear that with Tom Nashe almost alone among the long array of poets and authors whom he mentions was Meres on terms of familiar friendship.[7] And if he knew Nashe well, then Meres must have known John Danter the printer, for Nashe lived with Danter and his wife at their house in Hosier's Lane and worked in their press.[8] And Danter, the printer of the first Quarto of *Titus Andronicus,* ought to have been able to give Meres some reliable information about the authorship of that play.

Let it be admitted, then, that Meres was, at least, in a favourable position for finding out something about the writing of *Titus Andronicus.* Two years later, in 1600, James Roberts printed the second Quarto of the play. The differences between this and the Danter Quarto are slight; in all essentials the play remains unaltered. On the title-page, Roberts reprints Danter's statement about the three companies that had acted the play, but adds the name of "the Lord Chamberlain's Servants." As the Lord Chamberlain's Servants were the former Earl of Derby's Servants reinforced from the former Pembroke Company, this addition is simply a rough-and-ready way of bringing the name of the Company which now owned the play up to date. In 1611, Roberts published a Third Quarto. Again, the differences from the two earlier Quartos are slight. On the title-page, the names of all the four companies are deleted and the one title of "the King's Majesties Servants" put in their place. Last of all, in 1623 Hemmings and Condell reprinted (somewhat carelessly) the text of the Second Quarto of 1600 and incorporated it into their Folio edition of the complete dramatic works of Shakespeare. They added a scene (Act III, Sc. 2) which

[7] Meres addresses him personally as "sweet Tom," sides with him against Harvey in the squabble over Greene's death, cites him as his authority for Greene's death, and consoles him in the troubles that had just befallen him over the production of the *Isle of Dogs.*

[8] For Nashe's association with Danter and his wife, v. his complete *Works,* ed. R. B. McKerrow, Vol. III, pp. 114, 128.

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is not to be found in any of the Quartos. It is written in a style somewhat later than all the rest of the play, and must be an addition, made, at any rate, after 1600, to the acted version of the play. It may have been written by Shakespeare, but it is not demonstrably Shakespearean. It is a scene of madness, treated from the sentimental point of view, and reminds us vaguely of King Lear. But, on the whole, in its tone, which is at once fantastic and pathetic, its closest analogue is to be found among the interpolated mad-scenes of Hieronimo in the *Spanish Tragedy.*

There is no need to labor the point that Hemmings and Condell must have known whether Shakespeare had a hand in *Titus Andronicus* or not. It is easier to believe that they were right in including the play in the Folio than to believe the extremely complicated reasons brought forward by certain scholars to prove that they were wrong, mistaken, or dishonest in making the inclusion.[9] With Meres they make a formidable array of contemporary witnesses in favor of a Shakespearean authorship in part for the play.

The upshot of our tale, then, so far is this: before 1594 there was an old play on the subject of *Titus Andronicus,* which was the property of the Pembroke Company. This Company collapsed soon after September 28, 1593, and the play fell into Henslowe's hands. By him it was given to the Sussex Company for performance at some time after December 7, 1593. But before it was acted by this Company for the first time on January 23, 1594, Henslowe had the play very largely re-written and made into a "*new*" play. From Meres and the editors of the Folio we are forced to conclude that the man who rewrote the play was Shakespeare.

[9] The two most outstanding arguments against the trustworthiness of Hemmings and Condell in including *T. A.* in the Folio are: (1) They inserted it in order to claim the acting-rights; (2) they inserted it because Meres had said it was Shakespeare's. The first argument shows a misunderstanding of the purposes of the Folio, which was designed partly to *prevent* plays being wrongfully fathered on Shakespeare and wholly for the *reading* public. The acting-rights had already been adequately safeguarded by the publication of the Quartos. The scholars who employ argument No. 2 invariably preface it by declaring that Meres is an unreliable authority, whose word they personally will not take. Why they should suppose Hemmings and Condell, with better means for finding out the authorship of a play they had acted in, should be more credulous on the subject of Meres than their twentieth-century critics, remains a mystery.

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Now January 23, 1594, stands half-way between two important dates in Shakespeare's life. On April 18, 1593, his *Venus and Adonis* had been entered for publication on the Stationers' Register. On May 9, 1594, his *Lucrece* was to be entered on the Stationers' Register. With the publication of these two poems Shakespeare emerged, by common acclamation, as one of the foremost poets of the age, worthy to rank with Spenser, Drayton, and Daniel. When we consider how important these two poems were in bringing Shakespeare into fame, and how great a value Shakespeare himself set upon them as the first heirs of his invention and the graver labours of his muse, we might expect to find some echo of them in his contributions to *Titus Andronicus*.

That is just exactly what we do find. First, we find echoes of the style of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. John Weever in his sonnet to "honey-tongued Shakespeare" (written *c.* 1596-7) discreetly makes fun of one of his foibles—his love of the double-barreled epithet; besides *honey-tongued Shakespeare* he gives us *rosie-tainted features, rose-cheekt Adonis, fire-hot Venus, virgin-like Lucrece* and *lust-stung Tarquin*, all within fourteen lines. This is not a mannerism peculiar to Shakespeare; it is to be found in Drayton and Daniel and all the other inheritors of the sweet, witty soul of Ovid. Naturally, it abounds in *Venus and Adonis* (*sick-thoughted, self-loving, love-lacking, earth-delving*) and in *Lucrece* (*high-pitched, silver-seeming, subtle-shining*). Among his plays, it crops up in one, *Richard II*, which was written about 1593 (*time-honoured, sky-aspiring, rival-hating*). The trick is not to be found very frequently in his early plays before 1592, and it dies out of them notably after 1596.

In *Titus Andronicus*, especially in Act II, the double-barrelled epithet abounds. We find *highest-peering hills, counsel-keeping cave, deadly-standing eye, fatal-plotted scroll, new-transformed limbs*, within the space of sixty lines.

Another device. Everyone knows John of Gaunt's famous apostrophe to England in *Richard II*,

> This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden. . . .

Here again is a hyperbole carried over from the poems into a play. It occurs in *Venus and Adonis:*

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> This sour informer, this bate-breeding spy,
> This canker that eats up Love's tender spring,
> This carry-tale, dissentious jealousy.

and in *Lucrece:*

> This blur to youth, this sorrow to the sage,
> This dying virtue, this surviving shame,
> Whose crime will bear an ever-during blame.

And again, we find it in *Titus Andronicus* when Aaron apostrophises Tamora, as,

> this queen,
> This goddess, this Semiramis, this nymph,
> This siren that will charm Rome's Saturnine.[10]

The existence of two such striking poetic devices as these in *Titus Andronicus,* which it shares in common with the two poems and with *Richard II* almost alone among the plays, would lead us to suppose, even if we had no other proofs, that Shakespeare must have turned his hand to the revision of the play just about the time that he was busy with *Venus and Adonis, Lucrece,* and *Richard II;* i. e., somewhere about 1593 or 1594. But there are more striking similarities yet.

In Act II, Scene 2, where Aaron and Tamora meet in the forest to make love, we have the *mise-en-scène* of *Venus and Adonis.* In the centre of the stage are the two lovers, the woman fain, the man impatient and pre-occupied; in the distance is the music of the chase—huntsmen hallooing, horns winding, dogs barking. And as the dialogue unwinds, we hear echoes from the poem. As, for instance:

(1) *Venus* (to *Adonis*)

> Thus do they (the hounds) spend their mouths; Echo replies
> As if another chase were in the skies.

Tamora (to *Aaron*)

> . . . the babbling Echo mocks the hounds,
> Replying shrilly to the well-tuned horns,
> As if a double hunt were heard at once.

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[10] *V. & A.*, ll. 655-7; *Luc.*, ll. 222-4; *T. A., Act. II, Sc. 1,* ll. 21-3.

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(2) (*Venus*)

> By this, far off she hears some huntsman holloa;
> A nurse's song ne'er pleased her babe so well.

Tamora (to *Aaron*)

> . . . hounds and horns and sweet melodious birds
> Be unto us as is a nurse's song
> Of lullaby to bring her babe asleep.

(3) (*Venus*)

> . . . she starts like one that spies an adder
> Wreathed up in fatal folds.

Aaron (to *Tamora*)

> Even as an adder, when she doth unroll
> To do some fatal execution.[11]

In Act II, Scene 4, there is another striking memory of *Venus and Adonis*. Marcus Andronicus meets his niece, Lavinia, wandering, tongueless and mutilated, through the woods. He bewails her woeful case, which is rendered the more intolerable in that she cannot give vent to her sufferings in words, and he cannot rail at those who have wronged her because he does not know who they are. "Sorrow concealed," he says,

> like an oven stopped
> Doth burn the heart to cinders where it is.

The same forced imagery appears in *Venus and Adonis:*

> An oven that is stopped, or river stayed,
> Burneth with more heat, swelleth with more rage,
> So of concealed sorrow may be said;
> Free vent of words love's fire doth assuage.[12]

These are simply some of the more striking similarities of expression between *Venus and Adonis* and *Titus Andronicus*. If we turn to *Lucrece,* we find even more numerous similarities. Several times

[11] *V. & A.*, ll. 695-6, 973-4, 877-9; *T. A., Act II, Sc. 2*, ll. 17-19, 28-29, 34-35.

[12] *V. & A.*, ll. 331-4; *T. A., Act II, Sc. 4*, ll. 36-7.

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is the unfortunate Lavinia likened to the chaste Lucrece. "Take this of me," says Aaron to the sons of Tamora,

> Lucrece was not more chaste
> Than this Lavinia, Bassianus' love.

Her uncle, Marcus, bids her give signs

> What Roman lord it was durst do the deed;
> Or slunk not Saturnine like Tarquin erst
> That left the camp to sin in Lucrece' bed?

And later, when the truth is known, he calls upon Titus and Lavinia to kneel down with him and take an oath of revenge.

> My lord, kneel down with me; Lavinia, kneel;—
> And kneel, sweet boy, the Roman Hector's hope;
> And swear with me—as, with the woeful fere
> And father of that chaste dishonoured dame,
> Lord Junius Brutus sware for Lucrece' rape
> That we will prosecute by good advice
> Mortal revenge upon these traitorous Goths.

Here upon the stage we have precisely the situation with which the poem closes, when Brutus plucks the knife from Lucrece's side and calls upon her father and her husband to "revenge the death of this true wife."

> This said, he struck his hand upon his breast,
> And kissed the fatal knife to end his vow;
> And to his protestation urged the rest,
> Who, wondering at him, did his words allow;
> Then jointly to the ground their knees they bow;
> And that deep vow, which Brutus made before,
> He doth again repeat, and that they swore.[13]

These are not the only likenesses between the poem and the play. Again and again is Lavinia compared to Philomel that lost her tongue and "in a tedious sampler sewed her mind." Old Adronicus, turning over the pages of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* with her, lights upon that tragic tale and asks,

> Lavinia, wert thou thus surprised, sweet girl,
> Ravish'd and wrong'd, as Philomela was,
> Forced in the ruthless, vast and gloomy woods?[14]

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[13] *T. A., Act II, Sc. 2,* ll. 118-9; *Act IV, Sc. 1,* ll. 63-5, 87-91; *Luc.,* 1842-8.

[14] *T. A., Act IV, Sc. 1,* ll. 51-53.

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So, too, is Lucrece likened to the "love-lamenting Philomel" by the poet, to Philomel "that singst of ravishment" in "her sad grove" and "some dark deep desart seated from the way." Or, again, another simile, which binds Lavinia to Lucrece: Lavinia is "a dainty doe" plucked to ground by wanton foresters, "a deer that hath received some unrecuring wound"; so, too, Lucrece is "a wounded deer," "a poor unseasonable doe," against whom a false woodman has bent his bow.

Apart from the general likeness of Lavinia to Lucrece, there are other distinct memories of the poem in the play. Tamora calls upon her husband to assert himself as a true monarch:

> King, be thy thoughts imperious like thy name.
> Is the sun dimm'd that gnats do fly in it!
> The eagle suffers little birds to sing
> And is not careful what they mean therebye.
> Knowing that with the shadow of his wings
> He can at pleasure stint their melody.

The same homely metaphor upon royal birth occurs in *Lucrece:*

> Poor grooms are sightless night, kings glorious day;
> Gnats are unnoted wheresoe'er they fly,
> But eagles gazed upon with every eye.

Or, again, Marcus Andronicus calls upon Lucius to denounce the treacheries of the dead Tamora to the Roman tribunes:

> Tell us what Sinon hath bewitched our ears,
> Or who hath brought the fatal engine in
> That gives our Troy, our Rome, the civil wound.

So, too, Lucrece, as she stands before the tapestry showing the story of the Siege and Sack of Troy, rails at

> . . . perjured Sinon, whose enchanting story
> The credulous old Priam after slew;
> Whose words, like wildfire, burnt the shining glory
> Of rich-built Ilion . . . . . .
> . . . . . As Priam did him cherish,
> So did I Tarquin, so my Troy did perish.[15]

Here are simply some of the more obvious of the similarities between *Titus Andronicus* and the two poems of *Venus and Adonis*

[15] *Luc.*, 1013-5, 1521-4; *T. A., Act IV, Sc. 4*, ll. 81-6; *Act V, Sc. 2*, ll. 85-7.

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and *Lucrece*. There are others less obvious. For instance, both the play and the two poems (alone among all the works of Shakespeare) remind us in certain turns of thought and expression of Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamund*.[16] Furthermore, whereas the forcible Feeble who wrote Act I draws his inspiration solely from Seneca, the poet who later revises his work, goes back to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and, particularly, the second book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, two sources of inspiration which are clear in *Venus and Adonis* and even more so in *Lucrece*.

We have shown enough to make it sufficiently obvious that a good deal of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* has been brought to bear upon the revision of *Titus Andronicus*. It might be said, and has been said, that the reminiscences of *Venus and Adonis* may be due to an ardent admirer of that highly popular poem, which had appeared only some six or seven months before the re-writing of *Titus Andronicus*. But such an argument hardly accounts for the likenesses with *Lucrece* which was not to come upon the reading public until six or seven months *after* the revised *Titus Andronicus* had been acted. Again, we are forced to one only conclusion: that Shakespeare must have revised the play for Henslowe, whilst his head was full of both poems, whilst, as a matter of fact, *Venus and Adonis* was circulating among his friends in print, and whilst he was still busy writing *Lucrece*. What we may suppose to have happened is this: Henslowe, finding the stage-copy of the popular tragedy of *Titus Andronicus* in his hands, as a result of the break-up of the Pembroke Company, decided, probably at some time in December, 1593, to get the author of *Venus and Adonis* to re-write it. Shakespeare was busy with his *Lucrece*. One glance at the manuscript of *Titus Andronicus* was enough for him; he was not going to waste too much poetic energy upon such stuff as that. He drew quite impudently upon the poem that he had just published, and upon the poem which he was still writing, to eke the tragedy out. Within six weeks or so he had completed his task, as far as he cared to, and the manuscript was back in Henslowe's hands before January 23, 1594.

It is idle to go through *Titus Andronicus* scene by scene and say

[16] On this point v. Carlton Brown's Introduction to the Poems in the Temple Shakespeare.

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this is Shakespeare and that is not. We can only make a general guess at his contribution. Except for one speech, none of Act I is from his hand. It is a remnant of the old play. It is such poor, characterless stuff that it is cruel to give its author a name. Perhaps it is the work of Peele in one of his more tired and uninspired moments. The one exception to the general rule of dreary badness is Tamora's famous speech when she pleads for the lives of her sons. For a single moment in the play she is here a living human being and not a melodramatic monster, and the rhythm of the blank verse moves forward with fire and music. Many critics have pointed out that the speech expresses a particularly Shakespearean thought—mercy as the attribute in man which brings him nearest to the gods. It reminds us of Portia's famous appeal to Shylock, of Prospero's closing prayer, and even more forcibly of Isabella pleading for her brother's life to Angelo. Probably it was written by Shakespeare. A year after the first performance of *Titus Andronicus,* in 1595, Henry Peacham chose just this scene in the play for his famous sketch of the performance of *Titus Andronicus,* and wrote out this very speech under the sketch. Both he and other members of the audience must have felt that here was something finer, for a moment, than all the tedious bombast of the rest of the act.

Act II, with all its faults and outrages, is mainly from the hand of Shakespeare. Certainly, in the original play, it must have been the act which cried out most for more skilful handling. Shakespeare does his best with it. He brings music and imagery into the line, he floods its horrors with pathos; for a moment, he glimpses the wanton Roman empress and her swarthy paramour as his own Venus and Adonis, and the ill-fated Lavinia as Lucrece. After this act it grows increasingly difficult to disentangle Shakespeare from the older play. He was growing weary of his task and only tinkered at it here and there. Peele (or whoever he may be) still lingers on in the crude allegory scene, where Tamora visits Titus disguised as Revenge, and in the general knockabout massacre with which the tragedy closes. In Aaron we surely find, in some of the scenes, the hand of Marlowe, one of the accredited playwrights of the Pembroke Company. The Moor is a self-conscious Macchiavellian, with an artistic relish in villainy; he talks of "policy" and indulges in a grim sense of humour; he is obviously

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a favourite with his creator, as were all Marlowe's villain-heroes, and generally he is a robust compound of Barabas the Jew and Ithamore the Moor in *The Jew of Malta*. Shakespeare seems to have contented himself with exploiting the grief and sorrow of poor old Andronicus and his daughter Lavinia, and with painting in the portrait of one of his usual delightful boys in the character of young Lucius. In other words, he does his best to humanize the revolting story, where he can, and finds the easiest way to do this is to side with the victims and, not as Peele had done, to take no sides at all, or as Marlowe always did, to side with the villains. And in so far as such a tale as *Titus Andronicus* can be rendered human and moving, Shakespeare, from time to time, achieves the miracle. Few men could have done as much.

NOTE I. *Danter's Title-page.*

Danter states that *Titus Andronicus* was acted by three companies: the Pembroke Company, the Sussex Company, and the Derby Company. The Pembroke Company, as we have seen, must have acted the older, unrevised version of the play, as soon after September 28, 1593, it had disappeared. The Sussex Company, we know, acted the revised version three times between January 23 and February 6, 1594, and then it, too, disappeared, soon after April 9. The Derby Company, as such, never acted *Titus Andronicus* at all. In fact, as the Derby Company, it never acted in London. About February 6, 1593, it left London upon an extended tour in the provinces, as the *Lord Strange's* Servants. On September 25, 1593, whilst the troupe was still on tour, their patron, Lord Strange, succeeded to the Earldom of Derby, and they became the *Earl of Derby's* Servants. On April 16, 1594, the Earl of Derby died, and on May 16 we find them acting at Winchester as the *Countess of Derby's* Servants. About May 17-19, Henslowe, who managed this company at this time, notes a visit to Court, an interview with the Lord Chamberlain at Somerset House, and some "dryncking with the jentyllmen," from which we infer that he was arranging for the licensing of a new company. By June 4, as we have seen, the Derby men, now the *Lord Chamberlain's* Servants, were acting at Newington Butts and performed *Titus Andronicus* twice. On or before June 15, they severed their connection with Henslowe. Strictly speaking, therefore, Danter is wrong in stating that the Derby Company acted *Titus Andronicus*. It is easy to see, however, how the mistake arose. He probably was not the only man who found it difficult to keep pace with the rapid change of name of this company, which had left London as the *Lord Strange's* Servants and had been away for nearly eighteen months. As his book was going through the press, he learnt that the Sussex Company had ceased to exist and that the play had been cast at another Henslowe Company, known to him vaguely as the *Earl of Derby's* Servants, and so down it went as such on the title-page.

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NOTE II. *Shakespeare and the Pembroke Company.*

Because so many of the Pembroke plays later became the property of the Chamberlain's Men and were re-written by Shakespeare, a theory has been started that Shakespeare was an actor in the Pembroke Company and brought these plays to the Chamberlain's men, when he joined them in 1594. There are some things that even Shakespeare may not do without rebuke—robbing a bankrupt company being one of them. The plays in question were the property of the Pembroke Company, not of individual actors, even less of authors; as Shakespeare himself had not then written a single line in any one of these plays (except *Titus Andronicus*, for the Sussex men), he could not claim authorship as an excuse for larceny. Fortunately, we are not called upon to impugn his honesty in this way. From the history of *Titus Andronicus* we know exactly how the Pembroke plays passed into the hands of the Chamberlain's men. When the company collapsed in late 1593, Henslowe procured its plays (amongst others, *Titus Andronicus*, *Edward II*, Kyd's *Hamlet*, *A Shrew*, *The Contentions*). He first handed over *Titus Andronicus* to the Sussex Company; then, when that Company was dissolved, he handed, apparently, the whole Pembroke repertoire over to the newly formed Chamberlain's Company, which, by some business arrangement between Henslowe and Lord Hunsdon, probably, kept the plays when it launched out as an independent company.

With the explanation of the way in which the Pembroke plays passed into the hands of the Chamberlain's Company, the theory of Shakespeare's connection with the Pembroke Company falls to the ground for want of a reason for existence. None of Shakespeare's early plays, so far as we know, were ever acted by the Pembroke Company, and his name never occurs among its actors. The probabilities are that, until he joined the Chamberlain's men in 1594, Shakespeare had no connection with any one company of actors and had never been an actor himself. His connection with Southampton, the Ovidian tone of his poems, his Sonnets, his Euphuism, and the courtly origins and atmosphere of his early comedies, suggest that he lived in literary and courtly circles with men like Drayton and Daniel. It was as the author of *Venus and Adonis* that he was asked to revise *Titus Andronicus*, and as a poet and a writer of pleasing courtly comedies that he joined the Chamberlain's Company, perhaps on the Lord Chamberlain's invitation. Certainly within six months of joining the troupe, he was one of their three acknowledged leaders, for on March 15, 1595, we find him and Burbage and Kempe representing the Company at the Treasurer's department and receiving payment for two performances at Court on December 27th and 28th, 1594. He would hardly have attained that position so quickly if he had joined the Chamberlain's men as an unimportant member of a second-rate company, with the stolen manuscripts of other men's plays in his pockets.

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SHAKESPEARE AND HAYWARD

By Ernest P. Kuhl

In her important paper on "Shakespeare's *Richard II*"[1] Miss Evelyn May Albright raises an exceedingly interesting question. "Is there," she asks, "a real and vital connection between Shakespeare's *Richard II* and Hayward's history such as would indicate that Shakespeare depended on Hayward for matter of fact and for motivation?"[2] She thinks it "likely that Shakespeare used both Holinshed and Hayward as sources; but he finds in Hayward points not in Holinshed."[3] Among the resemblences she notes: "the accounts of base favorites, unjust taxation, costly and mistaken Irish policies, the unhistorical conception of Henry IV as a *popular* hero . . . and making the deposition seem inevitable."

Miss Albright finds further evidence in Hayward's statement (made at his trial in 1601), that though his *Henry IV* had appeared in 1599, he had "contemplated treating the subject a dozen years before."[4] She then suggests that Hayward "may actually have written his history some years before he published it and have allowed Shakespeare to use his manuscript."

Since the relation (if any) between Shakespeare and Hayward is a matter of the first importance, it may be well to state what the latter (under cross examination) actually said. He "began to write this history about a year before it was published, but had intended it a dozen years before, although he acquainted no man therewith."[5] His preceding remark is also to the point: "Wrote of a history of 300 years past, and acquainted none therewith before he brought it to the printer."

It might naturally be argued that this statement, even though made under oath, does not give us the truth. Nevertheless, Miss Albright overlooked, it seems to me, an important alternative: that Hayward borrowed from Shakespeare. It would have been natural

[1] *PMLA.*, XLII (1927), 686 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, 706.
[3] *Loc. cit.*
[4] *Loc. cit.* Cf. *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1598-1601, 540.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 540.

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for the historian to do this, since he availed himself of many sources —relevant and irrelevant. Is it possible, therefore, that the dramatist was one of his sources? In this connection, another statement made by Hayward (at the trial) becomes decidedly puzzling:

> As for the words spoken by King Richard II., that princes must not rule without limitation, &c., affirms that to be a true opinion if rightly understood; did not intend it to be taken generally, but that princes were to be limited by the law Divine and the law of nature only; had this from a *book written three years since*, but cannot remember the author.[6]

Who wrote a work *c.* 1598 that Hayward—whose obvious purpose was to make an application to contemporary politics—might consider source material for his history? On the pages of the *Stationer's Register* occur Shakspere's *Richard II and I Henry IV*.[7] Moreover, not only did the latter play appear this year (1598), but in that year (the only instance in Shakespeare) the former passed through two editions.[8] It is no doubt significant, also, that Meres (1598) heads his list of tragedies with these two plays (and *Richard III*), calling them "most excellent." Did Hayward borrow from Shakespeare? We cannot be absolutely certain. But in view of the great popularity of Shakespeare's histories at the time Hayward was engaged on his work ("began to write . . . about a year before it was published") this is a possibility that can not be overlooked. Particularly is this true since the unhistorical parts of Hayward—those portions that brought him into disrepute—are also found in Shakespeare.

Hayward, on this matter, has another suspicious remark. When charged with making Henry IV popular (and therefore unauthentic), he defended himself by saying that he "found in Hall and

[6] *Op. cit.*, 540. Italics mine.

[7] *The Famous Victories of Henry V* which appeared in 1598 (entered on S. R. in 1594) could not have been in Hayward's mind. Hayward possibly may have referred to a work that was entered on S. R. March 8, 1598 (III. 105), entitled *The Counsellour wherein the duty of Magistrates, the happie life of subjectes and the felicitie of Common Weales are Discoursed.* Unfortunately no copy of this work seems extant (cf. Pollard and Redgrave). Hayward's remarks on the book written three years before ("law Divine" etc) are not very specific.

[8] *Richard II* was no doubt written some years before, though there is no evidence that it was not revised. Anyway, the omission of the deposition scene from the first quartos indicates its timeliness.

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others that he was of popular behaviour, but for the particulars, he took the liberty of the *best writers.*" [9]

Who were these "best writers"? The inference is that contemporaries are intended, for Hayward is ready with his older sources such as Boethius, Walsingham, Fox, and Polydore Virgil. Certainly in 1598, if the demand for Shakespeare's printed histories is significant, there were others besides Meres who thought *Richard II* and *I Henry IV* "most excellent."

In another way Hayward rouses our curiosity. Why was he unable to recall the name of the author of a book three years old? His detailed replies preclude the possibility of a poor memory. One reason may be that he did not wish to incriminate anyone. Now what possible relations were there between him and Shakespeare? In the first place, Hayward dedicated his history to Essex (intimate friend of the Earl of Southhampton). How grave the consequences of this dedication were is well known. In view of these facts, therefore, it is at least possible that Hayward, in trying to defend himself, was protecting Shakespeare.

If Shakespeare was the source of the offensive passages in Hayward, why was not the dramatist also under fire? Of course, he may have been. The authorities could not well have been unconscious of two editions of *Richard II* and one of *I Henry IV* in a single year (1598)—shortly before the appearance of Hayward's book. Moreover, this year (1598) also saw the "staying" of *The Merchant of Venice.* This was July 22, five months after *I Henry IV* was entered on the *Stationers' Register.* Though we do not know the precise nature of this "staying," [10] the drama, as I have shown elsewhere,[11] obviously concerned the author's patron and Essex. In other words, Shakespeare's relations with the Essex faction in 1598 were anything but perfunctory. Again, when the charge of treason was brought against Essex (July 26, 1600), it was said that he had permitted "underhand that treasonable book of Henry IV. (i. e. Hayward's) to be printed"; and that he had often been "present at the *playing thereof, and with great applause giving countenance to it.*" [12]

[9] *Op. cit.*, 540. Italics mine.

[10] This matter I am discussing elsewhere.

[11] In forthcoming paper.

[12] *Op. cit.*, 455. Italics mine. Of course the question whether the Eliza-

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The question whether Hayward borrowed from Shakespeare may not be all-important. What is of considerable significance, however, is the fact that Shakespeare in 1598 is guilty of an unhistorical conception of the character of Henry IV, a point of view that is to rouse the anger of the authorities the following year in Hayward's *Henry IV*. In another paper I shall try to show that Shakespeare himself was not standing aloof, and that he too was not wholly free of suspicion.

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bethans thought of Shakespeare's *Henry IV* as history does not now enter into our discussion. Nevertheless, an age that accepted the Troy legend as authentic history and an author (Hayward) that used Boethius—not to mention other irrelevant sources—for the life of an English king, would not cavil at a dramatic representation. Polonious' classification of plays also comes to mind. And long after Shakespeare's day his historical plays were regarded as history by more than one person. But after all, Heywood (*An Apology for Actors*)—as we know—long ago said that plays taught the 'knowledge of many famous histories.'

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SOME EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CHAUCER ALLUSIONS

By RICHMOND P. BOND

It has become almost a commonplace to say that a most effective method of studying both a poet himself and the literary attitude of a particular period is an investigation of that poet's reputation in that period. Thus in Miss Caroline Spurgeon's remarkable work, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*,[1] we have the means of ascertaining the place held in any period by one of our greatest writers. The following list is composed of various kinds of allusions to Chaucer (the great majority being in the first six decades of the eighteenth century) that have met my eye and escaped Miss Spurgeon's; it is offered as a supplement in a field that has not been too closely gleaned. The value of such additions lies, of course, partly in the cumulation and partly in the interest each item may have in itself.[2]

[1] Cambridge University Press, 3 vols., 1925, but originally issued in six parts by the Chaucer Society. In *Studies in Philology*, Oct., 1923, XX, 469-78, T. S. Graves published "Some Chaucer Allusions (1561-1700)."

[2] For reasons of space I have entered only so much of the titles and passages as is pertinent or sufficient for comprehension and identification. Unless otherwise stated the place of publication is London. The references to Spurgeon are by part, not by volume.

The following minor corrections may be made in Spurgeon. Although in William Dunkin's *Select Poetical Works*, 1769-70, "The Character of a Good Parson. From Chaucer" (Spurgeon, iv, 93) is immediately followed by "On Chaste Behaviour. From the Same," II, 482-85, which Miss Spurgeon found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1737 (iv, 87), she seems unaware of Dunkin's authorship of the latter poem. In ascribing *Bibliotheca*, 1712, to William King (iv, 82) Miss Spurgeon is evidently following the conjecture in Bell's *Poets* (Vol. 46, not 86), but the *DNB.* gives Thomas Newcomb as the author, as does a note in an old hand in the Harvard copy; the passage on Chaucer occurs on pp. 14-15. It is hard to see why the passage from Mrs. Madan's *Progress of Poetry* is given twice (i, 362 and 437). The reference in Sewell's *Life and Character of Mr. John Philips* (i, 341) should be entered under date of its first edition, 1712. Denham's poem on Cowley (i, 244) was first issued separately in 1667.

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1626. [Vaughan, Sir William.] *The Golden Fleece,* Part I, p. 148.

To satisfie further their Obiections, I haue couched the subiect of my Discourse vnder the Titles of *Apollo, Walter de Mapes,* Sir *Geffrey Chaucer, Berengarius, Wicliffe,* and other famous persons, which flourished many yeares before *Luther* was borne, euen by the selfe same Authoritie, as *Vigilantius the Martyr* confuted the Hereticks of his time.

[The passages in Part I, Chapters XIV-XVI, were noticed by Graves, *op. cit.,* p. 472.]

1655. Fuller, Thomas. *The History of the University of Cambridge, Since the Conquest,* pp. 38, 52-53.

This CLARE-Hall was also called *Solere Hall* in the daies of *Chaucer,* as our Antiquary[m] hath observed:

> **And namely there was a great College[n]**
> **Men clepen it the Solere hall of Cambrege.**

m. *Caius Hist. Cant. Acad. pag.* 57.
n. *Chaucer* in the *Reves* tale.

About this time GEFFREY CHAUCER studied in *Cambridge,* as the Writer of his Life (prefixed to the last and best Edition of his Works) hath well observed. For,[a] being commanded to give an account of himself

> What is your name, reherse it here I pray,
> Of whens and where, of what condition
> That ye been of, let see, come off and say,
> Faine would I know your disposicion:

He returned under the assumed name of PHILOGENET,

> Of Cambridge Clerk.

Here *Clerk* is not taken in the restrictive sense, for one in Orders (CHAUCER being a militarie man) but for a Scholar, skill'd in Learning; in which Contradistinction all men were divided (as *Time* into *Day & Night*) into *Clerks.* I confesse this CHAUCER, living at *New-Elme* in *Oxfordshire,*[b] *compowned his Astrolabye for the Orizont of Oxenford,* and probably studied also in that University, being one of that Merit, who may with Honour be acknowledged a Member of both Universities.

a. *In his Court of Love, fol.* 352.
b. *In his Astrolaby, fol.* 261.

1698. Durfey, [Thomas]. *The Campaigners,* Preface, p. 15.

We find, for many Ages past, Poets have enjoy'd this Priviledge

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[of exposing Churchmen]; our Prince of Poets, *Chaucer*, had so much to do in this kind, that we find him weary himself, and loth to weary others with it.

> **Of Freers I have told before,**
> **In a making of a Crede,** **Chaucer.**
> **And yet I cold tell worse, or more,**
> **But Men would werien it to read.**

This I think is pithy, but here again I think his Counsel to them is much better.

[Here seven lines, also in black letter, are quoted, beginning "Fly fro the Prease."]

Now if he be Moral enough to take old *Chaucer's* Advice I shall be glad; and so much for that subject.

1700. B[lackmore (?)], R[ichard]. *On our English Poetry, and this Poem upon Tea.* [Prefixed to Tate's] *Panacea: a Poem upon Tea,* sign. A 6.

> The *British* Lawrel by Old *Chaucer* worn,
> Still *Fresh* and *Gay* did *Dryden's* Brow Adorn.

1700. Unknown. *Familiar and Courtly Letters, Written by Monsieur Voiture, made English. To which is added, a Collection of Letters of Friendship, and other Occasional Letters,* p. 257.

Poetasters are grown as numerous in this town as *Quack-Doctors* or *Stock-Jobbers*, and every one so applies himself to the Stage, that the *White-Fryars* Printers are quite Beggard for want of Ballads: Yet *Wit* I observe, is as scarce as it was in the time of *Jeffry Chaucer*, when a *Distich* of Verse were worth a Page of Prose, and a Song with a Fa-la-la chorus was much more listen'd to than a Sermon.

[This is in a letter dated Apr. 22, 1700, in answer to one from Mrs. Centlivre. Abel Boyer is perhaps the author. Both letters are reprinted in *The Second Volume of Familiar Letters of Love, Gallantry and several Occasions*, 1718, pp. 221-27.]

1701. Unknown. *Canterbury Tales, rendred into Familiar Verse. Written by no Body.*

[A dozen political fables with no apparent connection with Chaucer. Advertised in the *Post Boy*, Nov. 12, 1700.]

1702. Bysshe, Edw[ard]. *The Art of English Poetry,* pp. 11, 21, 33.

Our Poetry being very much polish'd and refin'd since the Days

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of *Chaucer, Spencer,* and the other antient Poets, some Rules which they neglected, and that conduce very much to the ornament of it, have been practis'd by the best of the Moderns.

Thus *Nation* and *Affection, Tenderness* and *Hapless, Villany* and *Gentry; Follow* and *Willow,* and the like were allow'd as Rhymes to each other, in the days of *Chaucer, Spencer,* and the best of the Antients; but this is now become a fault in our Versification; and these two Verses of Cowley Rhyme not at all.

I have the rather chosen to take notice of this Stanza, because that Poet [Spenser] and *Chaucer* have made some use of it in many of their Poems, but have not been follow'd by any of the Moderns; whose stanzas of 7 Verses are commonly as follows.

[For the allusions in the Preface and Ch. III, Sec. II, see Spurgeon, i, 290.]

1704. [Brown, Thomas (?).] *A Letter from the Dead Thomas Brown to the Living Heraclitus: with Heraclitus, his Answer,* pp. 10-11.

The next Morning I wak'd again, and found the News of being in those parts had spread it self through the whole Abby, and *Chaucer, Spencer, Drayton, Ben Johnson, Cowley* and *Dryden* was in my Chamber before I could get up. The first entertain'd me with abundance of Crotchets, Puns, and merry Stories, to divert me in that melancholy Place.

1707. [Ward, Edward (?).] *The Weekly Comedy,* Oct. 10, No. IX, p. 34.

Blunt. May all such vain Cox-combs be so serv'd, who have the Impudence to charge their Scandalous Intrigues upon Women of Honour and Quality, when their Vices and Debaucheries are only practis'd among *Chaucer's Semptresses,* and *Common-Strumpets.*

1707. Unknown. *Oxford. A Poem. Inscrib'd to the Right Honourable the Lord Lonsdale,* p. 6.

> When youthful *Harison,* with tuneful Skill,
> Makes *Woodstock Park* scarce yield to *Cooper's Hill,*
> Old *Chaucer,* from th' Elysian Fields, looks down,
> And sees, at length, a Genius, like his own.

1709. [Baker, Thomas (?).] *The Female Tatler,* Dec. 14-16, No. 70.

A Gentlewoman whose Ancestors I fancy were not unknown to Sir *Jeffery Chaucer,* has desired us to insert the following Letter.

[The letter purports to be from a sempstress who has girls to dispose of to the best bidder.]

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1709. Coward, W[illiam]. *Licentia Poetica discuss'd*, p. 37.

> Old CHAUCER'S Language, tho good nervous Sense,
> None *Now* can imitate without Offence.
> For, like a *Suit unfashionably made*,
> His Words by *Time* and *Custom* are decay'd.
> Tho in His Age *significantly* wrote,
> And with *undoubted Praise*, approv'd and taught.

1709. Felton, Henry. *A Dissertation on Reading the Classics, and Forming a Just Style. Written in the year 1709*, 1713, pp. 210-12.

> In his [Prior's] Works we meet an Assembly of the Muses; since the *Roman Swan* expired, none hath bolder or happier Flights, or touched the Lyre with a more masterly Hand; and since *Chaucer's* Days none hath told a merry or heroic Tale so well. . . . To these I may add some of more ancient Date, and tho' their Style is out of the Standard now, there are in them still some Lines so extremely beautiful, that our Modern Language cannot touch them. *Chaucer* is too old, I fear, for so young Company as Your Lordship; but *Spenser*, tho' he be antiquated too, hath still Charms remaining to make Your Lordship enamoured of him.

[1711.] Dennis, [John]. *Reflections Critical and Satyrical, upon a late Rhapsody, call'd an Essay upon Criticism*, p. 16.

> This is likewise a Libel upon the memory of Mr. *Dryden* whom he pretends to admire; for never any one was a greater Coiner than he, and it is directly contrary to the Improvement of Languages; for if *Chaucer* and succeeding Authors had had this Advice given them, and had been weak enough to take it, how could our Language ever have improv'd in Purity, in Force, in Grace, or in Harmony? But if it was allow'd to *Chaucer*, and those who immediately follow'd him, why must it be deny'd to those who have liv'd since.
>
> [This passage is apropos of Pope's dictum on newness in diction, ll. 133-36. Miss Spurgeon has called attention to the allusions on pp. 18-20, i, 314.]

1712. [Ozell, John.] *The Art of Poetry* [in] *The Works of Monsieur Boileau*, Vol. I, pp. 89-90.

> Our ancient Verse, (as homely as the Times,)
> Was rude, unmeasur'd, only Tagg'd with Rhimes:
> Number and Cadence, that have Since been Shown,
> To those unpolish'd Writers were unknown.
> *Chaucer* was he, who, in that Darker Age,
> By Nature's Rules restrain'd Poetic Rage.

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[This translation is a reworking of the Soame-Dryden version of 1683, which contains another Chaucer allusion (Spurgeon, i, 254); in the passage quoted above Ozell merely substituted Chaucer for Fairfax.]

1713. [Oldisworth, William (?).] *The Examiner,* Dec. 14-18, Vol. V, No. 6.

Among other late Corruptions, I very much lament the Incroachments which *Party* has made upon the *Muses*. . . . We are the celebrated Originals, who began to decide State-Affairs by the *Couplet*, and to deliver our Sentiments of Government in *Rhime*. . . . Something of the same kind is to be found in our *English Chaucer*, *Gower*, the Visions of *Pierce Plowman*, and the Fragments of *Robert* of *Gloucester*.

[Part of this was quoted in *The Examiner Examin'd. In a Letter to the Englishman*, 1713, pp. 5-6.]

1713. Unknown. *A Poem on the Civil-Wars of the Old-Baily,* p. 3.

Here come the *Templars*, Knights renown'd of old,
For Warlike Deeds, as great as e're were told;
By *Chaucer*, *Spencer*, or the later Song
Of *Garth*, to whom fantastick Wars belong.

1714. Lacy, John. *The Steeleids, or, the Tryal of Wit,* p. 42.

Now to the *Poets Paradise* w'arrived,
Whence Mortals have immortal *Wit* deriv'd
Here SPENCER and Old CHAUCER long since Blest,
By *Wit* and *Age*, the highest Seats Possess'd.

1714. Rands, Thomas. *Pax in Crumena: or, the Trooper Turn'd Poet,* Preface, sign. A3v.

Certainly the Capatious Heads of *Ovid*, *Homer*, or *Virgil* never suffered like mine; nay, even *Jeffery Chaucer's*, for I found it to be impossible for me to keep to any particular Subject long, unless it were making of Sonnets in the Praise of *Bacchus*, and that so confusedly too, as if I had been in Love with my Landlady's Daughter.

1715. Preston, ——. *Aesop at the Bear-Garden: a Vision. In Imitation of the Temple of Fame, a Vision, by Mr. Pope,* pp. 5, 35.

Mr. Pope owns he took his Hint from Chaucer, and I own I took mine from Mr. Pope.

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Pag. 17, Ver. II. *Fame's Temple.* Is a Castle in the Air, mention'd by *Chaucer*, describ'd by *Ariosto*, in his *Orlando Furioso*, and finish'd by Mr. *Pope.*

[c. 1717.] [Pope, Alexander.] *MS. Note* in Dennis's *Observations upon the Temple of Fame,* [in] *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer. With Two Letters concerning Windsor Forest, and the Temple of Fame,* 1717.

[In a B. M. copy of this work, pressmark 1421. g. 6(2), there are some annotations seemingly in Pope's script; Mr. R. E. W. Flower of the B. M. agrees that they are very probably Pope's notes. In the sentence (p. 48), "I am willing to own very frankly, that a work of this Nature is not capable of a Fable, but then it is very capable of an Unity of Design; but this Author has corrupted the Unity of his Design, by unexpectedly shifting his Scene, and deserting *The Temple of Fame* for the Temple of Rumour," the words "this Author" are underlined and "Chaucer" plainly written in the margin.]

1717. Greenwood, James. *The Virgin Muse. Being a Collection of Poems from our most Celebrated Poets. Designed for the Use of Young Gentlemen and Ladies, at Schools,* pp. 23-24, 25, 147-48, 172-73, 173-74.

XXII. The Poor Old Widow.

XXXIII. The Cock.

Dryden from Chaucer's Cock and the Fox.

CVIII. The Story of Midas.

Dryden from Chaucer.

[These three excerpts are from Dryden's *Cock and the Fox*, lines 1-39 and 40-54, and his *Wife of Bath, Her Tale*, lines 157-200.]

CXXV. The Story of Midas, as told by Geffrey Chaucer.

CXXVI. The Poor Old Widow, as it was written by Geffrey Chaucer.

[These two passages are 31 and 44 lines in length, and begin "Ovyde, among other thynges smale" and "A Poor Wydowe, som dele ystept in Age."]

1717. [Welsted, Leonard.] *Palæmon to Cælia, at Bath; or, the Triumvirate,* p. 10.

'Tis plain Sir *Fopling* cry'd, 'tis plainly so:
For me, I have not writ, of late, you know:
This Province the Triumvirs only claim,
Crown'd, by *the Wife of B—th*, with thund'ring Fame;
To see their first Essay the House was full;

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None fear'd a Secret to make *Chaucer* dull:
This damn'd, absurder Projects they disclose,
And raise preposterous Mirth from human Woes.

1720. Unknown. *Homer Travestie: Being a New Translation of that Great Poet,* Preface, sign. A2.

Of all the Poets, the most ancient are allow'd to be the best: This is evident in the *Greek* Tongue, more especially in the Case of *Homer;* and perhaps had we any whole Piece of *Ennius* and others, it might be prov'd so in the *Latin.* In our own Country, they who understand *Saxon,* prefer old *Chaucer* to all his Successors in Poetry.

1721. [Dart, John (?).] *The Romance of the Rose. Imitated from Chaucer.*

[This is a love poem in octosyllabic couplets of about 700 lines and has a motto from Chaucer; it is of the vision-allegory type with Cupid giving advice to the lover.]

1722. [Concanen, Matthew.] *A Letter to a Critick, in Vindication of the Modern Poets,* [in] *Poems, upon Several Occasions,* Dublin, p. 49.

To you its Date best recommends the Writ,
And ev'ry thing that's ancient must be Wit.
Three Hundred Years set CHAUCER'S Fame to rights.
And SPENCER, only for his Age, delights.

1723. Unknown. *Cythereia: or, New Poems upon Love and Intrigue,* pp. 1-22, 3, 22, 46.

The Apparitor's MATCH: or a Bargain with the DEVIL. Being the Fryar's TALE, from Chaucer.

[A footnote on "Curse."] *Chaucer* says, *Christes Curse,* i. e. Excommunication.

[A footnote at end of poem.] In the aforegoing *Tale,* whatever Lines are *double-Comma'd,* or in *different Characters,* are originally *Chaucer's.*

[In] The Retaliation. A Tale from Boccace.

Old CHAUCER says, Whoe'er's aggriev'd,
By his *own-self* may be reliev'd.

1725. Unknown. *Original and Genuine Letters sent to the Tatler and Spectator,* I, 118.

The under-written question (which is said to be taken out of Chaucer) having occasioned a considerable wager, whether it was meant by that author to point out a good or bad wife? was sent

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to the Spectator for his opinion, which was agreed should be decisive. The Spectator's answer was then only written, at the desire of the parties concern'd.

QUESTION.

If my wife were as little as she is good,
An inch of cloth wou'd make her gown and hood.

1726. [Mawer, John.] *The Progress of Language,* p. 23.

Might some old *Saxon* Sire the grave restore,
His worn-out flesh and blood to wear once more,
With life he wou'd renew his former pain,
And twice an infant at half accents strain
To frame new words his meaning to explain.
The Muse her Father *Chaucer* scarce can bear,
In *Ancient Guise yclad* his *rithms echauf* her ear.

[The italicized words in the last two lines are in black letter.]

1727. Diaper, [William]. *Brent,* [in] *Miscellanea. In Two Volumes. Never before Published. Volume I,* p. 127.

[Footnote on "Brent", the last word in the poem.]

An old Word for Burnt, used by CHAUCER.

Wesley, [Samuel]. *An Epistle from Mr. Pope to Mr. Gay. Occasioned by two Stanzas in Black-Ey'd-Susan,* p. 137.

Sooner. . . .

Dan CHAUCER'S *Tales,* Dan DURFEY shall outshine,
And PHILIPS' *Pastorals* compare with MINE,
Than GAY forgotten lye.

Pattison, [William]. *A Receipt to make a modern Poet,* p. 141.

Faith, Sir, you're very wise I own,
Is *Homer* then no better known?
Tibullus, and old *Chaucer* too,
I wonder you forgot 'em so.
Those bards [Pack, Prior, Pope] but now you heard me name
And are not these the very same,
Alike their Worth, alike their Fame?

1728. [Dennis, John (?).] *From the Daily Journal, May 11, 1728,* [in] *A Compleat Collection of all the Verses, Essayes, Letters and Advertisements, which have been occasioned by the Publication of Three Volumes of Miscellanies, by Pope and Company,* p. 50.

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Tho' I have not for several Years read Chaucer's *Temple of Fame*, yet I am well enough acquainted with his Character, to know that he has too much Genius, and too much good Sense to have committed many Absurdities; whereas the *Temple of Fame*, writ by the Pantomimical *A.* P—E, is one long Chain of Blunders and Boggisms, and one continued Absurdity.

[This letter was supposed to have been sent in by "A. B." It also appears in the *Alexanderiana* appended to *Gulliveriana*, 1728, p. 293, in a B. M. copy of which "By John Dennis" appears in the margin, probably in Pope's hand.]

1728. [Oldmixon, John.] *An Essay on Criticism; as it regards Design, Thought, and Expression, in Prose and Verse*, pp. 38-39.

As in this beauteous old Verse of *Chaucer's*, preserv'd in Dryden's *Palamon and Arcite:*

Uprose the Sun, and uprose Emily.

Had *Chaucer* said, *Uprose the Sun*, and then *up rose Emily* brighter than the Sun, *Emily* and the Reader would have been entertain'd with only a common Complement; but now the Reader fills up the Thought himself, and imagines that the Sun rose to prepare the Way for something brighter than himself: *Up rose* Emily.

Mr. Dryden, in another place,

Now Day appears, and with the Day the King,

imitates *Chaucer*, but the Delicacy is lost, for there is nothing more to be understood by it.

1728. Ralph, James. *Night: a Poem*, pp. 39-40.

High on a verd'rous hill, the blissful haunt
Of gladsom satyrs, and of woodland nymphs,
A ruin'd castle stands, great *Chaucer's* seat!
Where, ages since, the venerable bard
Rehears'd his songs, and charm'd th' attentive woods;
Where all the muses, at his pow'rful call,
Descended frequent on the midnight green,
And with melodious musick chear'd the shades.
But home-bred war in after-times disturb'd
The frighted mansion, and beneath it's walls
Whole armies rush'd, to battle on the plain,
And dy'd the neighb'ring streams with kind'red blood;
On the strong ramparts loud destruction roar'd
With ceaseless fury; whence the goodly frame
Disjointed fell in dust, and smoak obscur'd,
And but one tow'r of all the pile remains.
Yet still, when night involves the sable skies

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The builder's awful ghost descends, and sings
Enchanting numbers on the ruin'd base,
While lonely echo, in her nightly cell
Rejoycing, doubles the celestial strain;
And the faint trav'ller, list'ning from afar,
Forgets his woes, and gives his soul to joy.
All nature's charm'd, and, in their radiant spheres,
The planets dance to the harmonious lay.

1728. [Smedley, Jonathan (?).] *A History of Poetry, in a Letter to a Friend. By the Reverend Doctor SWIFT,* [*in*] *Gulliveriana,* p. 58.

At first it was a *Science* we only began to CHAW SIR. . . . In Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign I think there was but one DI-SPENCER of good Verses. . . . Yet a little before her Death, we attempted to deal in Tragedy, and began to SHAKE SPEARS.

1728. Unknown. *A Tale, literally translated from Xenophon, in the Stile and Manner of Chaucer,* [in] *Mist's Weekly Journal,* Apr. 6, No. 155.

[A poem, in seventy-six lines, on the desire of Pheraulas to dispose of his riches and honors and thereby his worries. The archaic words are explained in footnotes.]

1728. Unknown. *Polly Peachum's Jests,* p. 14.

A Gentleman eating some Mutton that was very tough, said it put him in mind of an old *English* Poet. Who is that, said another of the Company; *Chau—cer,* reply'd he.

1729. B., J. *Henry and Minerva. A Poem,* Preface, sign. A4-A 4v.

The Reader will see 'tis of the allegorical kind, form'd in some measure, upon the great Models of *Spencer* and *Chaucer*; the Descriptions and Episodes being interspers'd with Historical Facts, as well as with Fables; which last are borrowed either from the Heathen Mythology, or our own Legendary Accounts of Antient *Britain.*

1729. Dennis, [John]. *Remarks upon Several Passages in the Preliminaries to the Dunciad,* p. 4.

. . . the infamous *Temple of Fame,* writ in Envy of *Chaucer's* Poem upon the same Subject.

1729. Unknown. *A Sequel to the Dunciad,* p. 4.

[A satirical, obscene reference to Dryden's refreshing of Chaucer "stale and musty grown."]

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1730. [Pilkington, Matthew.] *Phoibo-Bathros: or, the Poet's Well,* [in] *Poems on Several Occasions, Dublin,* p. 141. London ed., 1731, p. 101.

> There *Albion's* antient Sons appear'd,
> Great Souls! as Deities rever'd:
> Old *Chaucer,* who the Mind regales
> With witty, Mirth-creating Tales.

1730. Unknown. *A Genealogical Essay on the Family of the Hams. Together with a Preface, setting forth the True Original of the Family of the Belchers,* pp. vii-viii, x.

[Setting out to prove that the name "Belcher" was originally French and compounded of "belle" and "chere", the author uses evidence from the words as "used by *Chaucer,* both separately and in Composition." Passages from the *Shipman's Tale* and *Assembly of Ladies* are quoted in this *jeu d'esprit.* "Belchier" was produced by the throwing in of a "supernumerary Vowel."]

1730. [Martyn, John.] *The Grub-street Journal,* Feb. 5, 1730, No. V.

[Concerning James Ralph's *Night* (see above).] In this book he digresses beautifully to tell us, that in autumn there is an old Castle near Newbury, which formerly was CHAUCER'S Seat; and that a great battle was fought near it.

[Also in *Memoirs of the Society of Grub-Street,* 1737, I, 21-22.]

[c. 1730.] Unknown. *One Epistle to Mr. A. Pope, Occasion'd by Two Epistles Lately Published,* p. 15.

> These in thy threadbare Farce shall Beauties show,
> Shall praise thy ribald Mirth, and maudlin Woe;
> Praise ev'n thy imitating *Chaucer's* Tales,
> And call that merry Temple, Fame's *Versailles.*

1731. Travers, H[enry]. *The Shipman's Tale from Chaucer,* [in] *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations,* pp. 104-30. In the 1740 ed., pp. 161-84.

[A modernization of 394 lines, beginning "There liv'd in *France,* as ancient Stories tell."]

1733. [Curll, Edmund.] *The Life of Mr. John Gay,* pp. 7-8, 55.

Such likewise, were the *Anti-matrimonial* Precepts of our good Countryman and auncient Poet Maister *Geoffry Chaucer,** whose Ditty on this Head Mr. *Pope* hath thus set to Music, viz.

[Six lines are here quoted from Pope's *Wife of Bath's Prologue.*]

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Chaucer's Sentiments are confirmed by two Gentlemen of later times,†

* See The Wife of *Bath's* Prol.

† Squire *Filbert*, and Mr. Sergeant *Nettle*, in The *What D'ye call it.* Scene I.

[In enumeration of Gay's tales] I. *An Imitation of* CHAUCER'S *Style.* Being an *Answer* to the *Sompner's* PROLOGUE. In this *Tale* old *Geoffry* asserts merrily, that, *The* Devil's *Belly, is a Hive of* Fryar; thus summed up by Mr. *Gay*, viz. . . .

1733. Unknown. *Warbletta: A Suburbian Eclogue. By a Gentleman of Parnassus,* [in] *Gentleman's Magazine,* July, p. 370.

If cares oppress thee, I'll divert my love
With Patient GRIZEL—and a GRIZEL prove.

1734. Pope, [Alexander]. *An Epistle from Mr. Pope, to Dr. Arbuthnot,* p. 4.

'Tis sung, when *Midas'* Ears began to spring,
(*Midas*, a sacred Person and a King)
His very Minister who spy'd them first,
(Some say his * Queen) was forc'd to speak, or burst.

* The Story is told by some of his Barber, but by *Chaucer* of his Queen. See Wife of Bath's Tale in *Dryden's* Fables.

1734. Unknown. *A Satirical Essay on Modern Poets,* pp. 1, 2.

Of *Chaucer* (darken'd by a Length of Years)
The genuine Form imperfectly appears;
Yet —— what's unchangeable, the same we find,
Attested by the curious Ear, and Mind:
Was Verse uncooth, rough, hobbling, hoarse, and rude,
Ever —— with Grace, and Harmony endu'd?
View his Narrations and Digressions well;
Say —— did he in Propriety excell?

Who bears the Prize of instant Fame away,
Pope —— is the Joy and Wonder of a Day!
Observe them jointly in the strictest View,
'Tis manifest (acknowledging their Due)
Old *Chaucer* fails to do his Subject Right;
Shakespear impure; *Johnson* is unpolite.

1735. Unknown. *Melissa to Sylvanus Urban,* [in] *Gentleman's Magazine,* Oct., p. 614.

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Pope, Ovid, and *Chaucer,* have told us strange things,
Of a monstrous fine *lady,* all cover'd with *wings;*
Her feet on the *earth,* and her head in the *skies,*
With thousands of *tongues,* and of *ears,* and of *eyes.*

1736. Cobb, [Samuel]. *The Miller's Tale, from Chaucer,* [in] *A Collection of Merry Poems. The Second Edition,* pp. 7-26.

[Cf. Spurgeon, i, 319; iv, 84.]

1737. [Pope, Alexander.] *The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated,* fol. ed. p. 6, 4° ed. p. 10.

Spenser himself affects the ‡ obsolete.

‡ *Spenser too much affects the obsolete.*] Particularly in the Shepherd's Calendar, where he imitates the unequal Measures, as well as the Language, of Chaucer.

1737. Unknown. *An Ode to the Earl of Chesterfield, imploring his Majesty's Return,* p. 7.

Whether from antique Rust with pious Toil
He polish (d) *Britain's* ancient Poets Praise;
Or planting careful in his better Soil,
Preserve more green the (e) *Greek* and *Roman* Bays.

(d) Chaucer and Donne. (e) Homer, Horace, Ovid.

1737. Unknown. *The Black-Bird's Apology,* [in] *Gentleman's Magazine,* July, p. 442.

For melody I won the fame
(As antient *Chaucer* † told)
From every bird of tuneful name,
By strains distinct and bold.

† See his Fable of *The Flower and the Leaf.*

1737. Unknown. *The Goose Quill. By the Author of Quintilian's Complaint,* [in] *London Magazine,* May, p. 269.

From *Chaucer's* times to these our present days,
The *grey goose-quill* was ever held in praise.
And, if that verse eternity can give,
Its name and honours shall for ever live.

1738. Unknown. *On Shakespear,* [in] *A Choice Collection of Poetry, by the Most Ingenious Men of the Age. Most care-*

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fully collected from Original Manuscripts, by Joseph Yarrow, I, 90.

1740. [Dixon, Mrs. Sarah.] *The SHEPHERD'S Daughter. An humble Imitation of CHAUCER'S Tales, as told by Mr. DRYDEN,* [in] *Poems on Several Occasions,* Canterbury, pp. 186-203.

[An amorous tale of shepherds with a sentimental, un-Chaucerian treatment.]

1741. Unknown. *Merryland Displayed: or, Plagiarism, Ignorance, and Impudence, Detected. Being Observations upon a Pamphlet Intituled a New Description of Merryland. The Second Edition,* Bath, pp. 54-55.

Books from whence the Author of Merryland has borrowed Assistance, *viz.*

17. Part of *Chaucer's* Works.

1745. Say, Samuel. *Postscript, On the Numbers of Paradise Lost,* [in] *Poems on Several Occasions: and Two Critical Essays,* p. 170.

In these kind of Expressions, *Blank* Verse has certainly the Advantage over *Rime;* but, as SPENSER, WALLER, *DRYDEN, and many others have shewn, they are not Peculiar to *Blank* Verse.

* See particularly DRYDEN'S Tale of the COCK and the FOX from CHAUCER; and his THEODORE and HONORIA from BOCCACE.

1746. Unknown. *Books and Pamphlets publish'd this Month,* [in] *Gentleman's Magazine,* June, p. 332.

15. *Chaucer's* farmer and fryar. 6 d. *Cooper.*

[This notice appeared also in the June *London Magazine,* p. 320.]

1750. Sympson, [John]. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle,* [in] *The Works of Sir Francis Beaumont and Mr. John Fletcher. In ten volumes.* Ed. by Theobald, Seward, and Sympson, VI, 400.

by your Leaves.] This must be pronounced as two Syllables; 'tis in the Taste of *Chaucer* and our old *English* Poets: 'Tis a License however our Poets seldom take, and I don't remember above three or four Instances of it throughout the Edition.

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1751. Scriblerus, Galfridus, *pseud. Remarks on Mr. Pope's Epistle of Taste. The Second Edition,* p. 3.

And Books for *Mead,*

. . . for whether Mr. *Pope* knows it or not, he [Mead] can read *Homer* and *Statius,* nay, and *Chaucer* and *Shakespear,* in their Originals, without Recourse either to a rhiming Translator, or a Modernizer to point him out their Meaning.

1751. Unknown. *An Essay on the Antiquity, Dignity, and Advantages of Living in a Garret. Humbly recommended to the Serious Consideration of the Learned World,* p. 29.

For this reason he [Mr. W——] intends to make use of my Assistance in a Work he has now on the *Anvil,* wherein he intends to *restore* all the *English* Poets, from *Chaucer* down to *Pope.*

1751. Unknown. *The Trial of Chaucer's Ghost,* [in] *The Student, or the Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany,* Oxford, II, 71.

Hast thou not presum'd to alarm each bright toast,
By the conjuring up of an old English ghost;
And made fusty CHAUCER, without a pretext,
Snarl postumous nonsense against the fair-sex?

[This poem, in the dialogue form, was written by the author of "A Panegyrick on the Ladies" in an earlier issue of the *Student,* Spurgeon, i, 401.]

1753. [Edwards, Thomas.] *An Account of the Trial of the Letter* Y *alias Y,* p. 2.

The Vowel I was the letter chiefly concerned in point of interest: he found himself wholly excluded from all jurisdiction in the end of words, and not only so, but he was frequently banished from the middle; insomuch that in Chaucer's time this fugitive Greek had usurped his power in *Wyfe, lyfe, Knyght,* and innumerable other instances, and almost thrust him out of the English language.

1753. Smart, C[hristopher]. *The Hilliad: an Epic Poem,* p. 20.

Pimp! Poet! Puffer! 'Pothecary! Play'r!

Pimp,] An old English word for a mean fellow; see CHAUCER and SPENCER.

1754. Unknown. *Chevy-Chase, With a Preface Endeavouring to prove that the Author intended the Earl of Douglass for his Hero; and Notes on some Passages of the Poem,* Aberdeen, pp. xi-xii.

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. . . but it may be observed, that its present style differs more from the Scots, than from the English language of that period, as any one may see by looking into Chaucer, who wrote much about the same time.

1757. Hoadly, John. *Letter to Dodsley,* Oct. 18, 1757. B. M. Add. MS. 30262, f. 70. [Reprinted in] W. P. Courtney's *Dodsley's Collection of Poetry: Its Contents and Contribution,* 1910, pp. 102-03, and in Ralph Straus's *Robert Dodsley: Poet, Publisher and Playwright,* 1910, pp. 140-42.

You may add Mr. H's [Harris's] *Fragment of Chaucer* after Mr. Taylor's Pieces.—and I hope ye. whole will answer to You both in Reputation and Profit.

1758. Hawkins, W[illiam]. *An Essay on Genius,* [in] *Dramatic and Other Poems, Letters, Essays, &c,* Oxford, p. 231.

> Ye Bards of *Britain* that have shin'd in Song,
> Oh, let the Muse survey your tuneful Throng.
> *Chaucer,* who notes not with a merry Glee,
> Thy *Genius* full of quaint Festivity?

1762. Beattie, James. *An Essay on Poetry and Music, as they affect the mind. Written in the year 1762,* [in] *Essays* . . . , Edin., 1778, pp. 17n, 20n, 231, 246. First appeared in 1776.

He [Dryden] exceeds his master Chaucer in the first [delineating the more familiar scenes of life].

When he [Pope] versifies Chaucer, he catches, as by instinct, the ease, simplicity, and spirit of Dryden, whom he there emulates.

And if Chaucer's merit as a poet had been as great as Homer's, and the English tongue under Edward the Third, as perfect as the Greek was in the second century after the Trojan war, the style of Chaucer would probably have been our model for poetical diction at this day; even as Petrarcha, his contemporary, is still imitated by the best poets of Italy.

I grant, it is not always easy to fix the boundary between poetical and obsolete expressions. To many readers, *lore, meed, behest, blithe, gaude, spray, thrall,* may already appear antiquated; and to some the style of Spenser, or even that of Chaucer, may be as intelligible as that of Dryden.

1764. Beattie, James. *An Essay on Laughter and Ludicrous Composition. Written in the year 1764,* [in] *Essays* . . . , Edin., 1778, pp. 468, 476. First appeared in 1776.

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From this source [religious controversy] we derive many witty passages in the writings of Chaucer, Erasmus, Pascal, and others.

But these critics [who despise the modern and glorify the ancient authors] are rather to be ranked with those of our antiquarians who prefer Chaucer and Langland to Dryden and Milton, and, like Pope's Parish-clerk, take a kindly affection even to the black letter in which the former are printed.

1765. Ogilvie, John. *Solitude: or the Elysium of the Poets,* [in] *Poems on Several Occasions,* 1769, II, 213-15, 247n.

*Just where the hill (these happy mansions shown)
O'erlook'd the pendent trees that waved between;
On the fair borders of that temperate zone,
Tho' rude, yet graceful, smiled a rustic scene.

Rich yet confused, the intermingling sprays,
Uncouthly gay, their simple flowers display'd;
Nor here had Fashion plann'd the wildering maze,
Nor Art's soft touch th' entangling shrubs obey'd.

But o'er the whole majestic Nature strode,
Her form disdainful of the mimic hand;
The brightening Wilderness before her glow'd,
Behind gay Plenty cloath'd the broider'd land.

A little hamlet in the midst appear'd,
Where antique figures stood expos'd to view;
Of rough materials was the structure rear'd,
And round its walls the clasping ivy grew.

Not far a laurel's spreading boughs were seen,
Beneath whose umbrage sat a careless Swain:
The Dryads tripping o'er the daisied green,
And bleating flocks confess'd his powerful strain.

Much sung the Swain of love, and much of care,
Much of th' imperious Wife, the Man forsworn;
Much of the Dotard tame, th' insidious Fair,
The plan projected, and the gilded horn:

How oft the Nymph her ancient mate beguiles
Soothes when he storms, or chuckles as he leers;
When roused eludes him with superior wiles,
Or jealous,—bursts in thunder on his ears.

Thus pass'd his laughing hours in ease away,
Where still new hopes the restless mind employ;
Nor clouds dark-lowering quench the beams of day,
Nor Sorrow skulks beneath the smile of Joy.

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"Lo! there the Father of the British lyre,
"Old Chaucer lives, (thus spoke the Power divine)
"Awful, tho' rude. The venerable Sire
"Transported marks his long-descending line."

* *Just where the hill, &c.*] Here the principal subject of the Poem begins with a description of Chaucer.

The eminent merit of Chaucer, though he lived in a barbarous and illiterate age, procured him a powerful and generous patron in John Duke of Lancaster, who recommended this *grete Clerke* to Edward III. during whose reign he was raised to dignity and opulence. Involved in the fate of his patron, he was script of all his employments in the succeeding reign, and was compelled to wander in a foreign country a wretched and needy fugitive. He returned indeed in his old age, but was never restored to the royal favour, and at last died in obscurity.

1766. Unknown. *Old Chaucer's Address to his Soul, on his Departure from Court to his Royal Recess, modernized,* [in] *London Chronicle,* Aug. 14-16, p. 162.

[A poem eighteen lines long on the theme of contentment and resignation.]

1771. Unknown. *The Theatrical Review; or, New Companion to the Play-House,* Oct., I, 27.

. . . but the plot [of *As You Like It*], as far as relates to the Characters of *Oliver, Jaques, Orlando,* and *Adam,* with the Episodes of the Wrestlers, and the banished Train, are doubtless taken from *Chaucer's* Legend of *Gamelyn* in the Cook's Tale.

1782. [Tyers, Thomas.] *An Historical Rhapsody on Mr. Pope,* pp. 92-93.

His [Mason's] Monody, called Musaeus, shewed the author a happy imitator of Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, and Pope.

1787. Pindar, Paul (*pseud.*). *The Fleaiad,* p. 17n.

"O' th' Laureat's *Chronologic* rump"—This epithet *chronologic,* is caused by a trifling mistake of the Rev. T. Warton's, in making Chaucer record the battle of Agincourt. It is affirmed with some appearance of truth, that this mistake was intentional; either in order to provoke his adversaries to a battle of wit, or good-naturedly to wipe away from the glorious age of Henry V. the imputation of not being able to produce one bard of any note to sing the immortal victories of that "*Monarch Hero.*"

[c. 1790.] Unknown. *Patient Grissel.*

[A broadside ballad of 139 lines telling the Griselda story, but making her children twins. There is no mention of Chaucer.

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About a decade later Howard and Evans reprinted it. B. M. pressmarks C. 20. c. 30(6) and 1876. f. 1 (210).]

1798. Gardner, Edward. *Original Poems of the Late Unfortunate Thomas Chatterton, to which is Prefixed a Short Sketch of the Controversy Concerning the Poems Attributed to Rowley,* [in] *Miscellanies, in Prose and Verse,* Bristol, II, 147-48, 150, 152-53.

There are many parts of CHAUCER and LYDGATE, which divested of their rhymes, would not have appeared bombast in common conversation. We cannot apply this rule to the brilliant metaphorical elegance of the poems attributed to ROWLEY. The following passage from LYDGATE will illustrate this idea:

> For Chaucer that my master was, I knew
> What did belong to writing verse and prose,
> Ne'er stumbled at small faults, nor yet did view
> With scornful eye the works and books of those
> That did write in his time, nor yet would taunt
> At any man, to fear him or to daunt.

Nothing can be more minutely precise than the Canterbury tales of CHAUCER: had CHATTERTON attempted a piece of the 15th Century in a similar manner, breaches of the *Costume* would have soon detected him.

There is no such alloy in the gold of ROWLEY, he lops off all redundancies of explication and yet numerous instances of this occur in our elder Poets:

> What is your name, *rehearse it here I pray,*
> Of whom, and where, of what condition,
> *That ye been of—let see come off and say.*
>
> CHAUCER'S Court of Love.

The passages in italics are superfluous.

1798. Sotheby, [Eliza]. *Patient Griselda. A Tale from the Italian of Bocaccio,* Bristol, p. 33.

> And Britain's isle has wept Griselda's wrong,
> By Chaucer chronicled in ancient song.

. . . . . .

1575. Thévet, André. *La Cosmographie Universelle,* Paris, II, 655.

Du quel temps viuoit *Geoffroy Chancier,* Gentil-hõme de bonne part, lequel feit plusieurs liures en poësie, & entre autres vn De la ruïne des Princes, & tourna en sa langue les liures de *Boëce,* nommez De la cõsolation.

Harvard University.

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Additional Allusions

[The following eighteenth-century references to Chaucer may be added to Mr. Bond's interesting collection.—J. F. Royster.]

1712. Urry, John. *Letter to Lord Harley.*

Spurgeon (I, 325) prints the letter from the *Report on the Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, Vol. V (Historical MSS. Commission), 1899, pp. 247-8. In the copy of this letter preserved in B. M. MS. Add. 38, 181, the following marginal comment appears—probably in the hand of Timothy Thomas,—at the end of the document:

N. B. L.[ord] H.[arley] knows nothing of a new Tale here said to be found by him, which he thinks was mistaken for a New MS. he may have mentioned to the Dean.

1715. *Proposals of Subscriptions for Urry's Chaucer. The Daily Courant,* January 27.

By Subscription

Whereas John Urry, Student of Christ Church, Oxon., has obtained from her late Majesty Queen Anne, a License for Printing the Works of the celebrated Jeffrey Chaucer, corrected from all the printed Editions and from several rare and antient MSS. not hitherto consulted: From the collating of which he has restored many single Lines, and added several Tales never yet printed, by which Alterations, Amendments, and Additions, the Work is in a manner become new. 30 Copper Plates by the best Gravers, will be printed, before each Tale; a more complete Glossary and Table will be added at the end. A small Number will be printed on Royal Paper, at 50s. per Book; and those on the finest Demy at 30s. Half to be paid in Hand. Subscriptions are to be taken in by the Undertaker Bernard Lintott between the Temple Gates, and by most Booksellers in London and the County. N. B. A new black letter, Accented, has been cast on purpose for this Work, for the Ease of the Reader.

[Repeated in the issue for January 29, but apparently in no later number of *The Daily Courant.*]

[Cf. Spurgeon, I, 331 (Hearne's *Letter to Richard Rawlinson*).]

1715. Wanley, Humphrey. *Diary.* Landsdowne MS. 771.

Monday 21 March 1714/15

3. My Lord Harley expressing some Compassion upon the unexpected Decease of Mr. Urry of Christ-Church: the Secretary showed that two MSS. borrowed for his use by the present Bishop of Rochester [Francis Atterbury], while Dean of Christ Church, are

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not yet restored; and that he hath a Note under the Bishops hand for the same. My Lord undertook to manage this matter. (Page 6.)

Saturday 26 March 1714/15

7. My Lord was pleased to say that he had written to Mr. Terry the Subdean of Christ-Church, to take proper care to secure the two MSS. borrowed out of the Library for Mr. Urries use. (Page 7.)

[For other references to efforts to regain MSS. lent Urry for his edition of Chaucer, see Spurgeon, I, 335-336.]

1720-1722. Wanley, Humphrey. *Diary.* Lansdowne MSS. 771.

14 October 1720.

12. Mr. William Thomas sent in 3 of the four MSS. of Chaucer borrowed lately by him, being 67.3.C—34.B.18 and that which is yet unmarked. (Page 60.)

[Very likely for his and his brother's (Timothy's) use in preparing the Glossary for Urry's 1721 edition of Chaucer. "67.3.C" is Harl. 1239, "An oblong Parchment-book . . . wherein are contained, Part of the Works of Sir Geffrey Chaucer" (Wanley). "34.B.18" is Harl. 78: "27. A Complaint of Pitie made by Geffrey Chaucier the Aureat Poet that ever was fonde in oure Vulgate to fore hees Days."]

5: July 1721.

13. Mr. Thomas came and looked into two or three MS. of Chaucers Tales. (Page 92.)

21 November 1722.

7. Mr. Will Thomas came & Borrowed the MS. of Chaucer inscribed 93.B.2. (Page 135.)

["93.B.2" is Harl. 1758, "A velom-Book in fol. given by the Very-Reverend & learned Dr. Francis Atterbury, now Dean of Christ-church (1711-1713); being a very antient & fair Copy of Geffrey Chaucers Canterbury Tales" (Wanley).]

1721. *Announcement of the Publication of Urry's Chaucer. The London Daily Journal,* February 3.

Published With her late Majesty Queen Anne's Royal License. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer by Mr. John Urry, late Student of Christ Church Oxon. With a very Compleat Glossary. . . . Printed by Bernard Lintott, at the Cross-Keys between the Temple Gates.

1721. *Announcement of the Publication of Urry's Chaucer. The Post Boy,* February 4-7.

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Whereas a New Edition of Chaucer's Works, in One Volume in Folio (undertaken by Mr. John Urry, late Student of Christ Church, Oxon. and since his Decease carried on by a Member of the same College) is now near finished, the Text being printed off, and the Glossary now in Press; all Persons who have taken Subscriptions for the Work, are desired immediately to send in the Names of their Subscribers to Bernard Lintot, between the Temple Gates, Book-seller, in order to the printing thereof. N. B. Subscriptions are taken in by the Rev. Dr. Clavering, Canon and Treasurer of Christ Church, Oxon.; Dr. Henry Levet in Charter house-yard, London, and B. Lintot aforesaid. The Price to Subscribers is Thirty Shillings the Small Paper, and Fifty Shillings the large Paper.

1721. Dart, John (?). *The Romance of the Rose. Imitated from Chaucer.* See page —— above.

An advertisement of this poem appeared in *The Post Boy*, February 10 (repeated in issue of March 10), 1721:

This Day is published
The Romance of the Rose. Imitated from Chaucer.

I knowe that in Forme of Speech is Chaunge
Within an hundreth Yeere, and Words tho'
That hadden Price, now wonder nice and straunge
Think we them, and yet they spake them so,
And sped as well in Love as Men now do. Chaucer

Printed for Jonah Bowyer at the Rose in S. Paul's Church Yard.

1736. Morell, Thomas. *Letter to the Author of any Publick Paper. The Daily Gazetteer,* July 29.
Morell, Thomas. *To Mr. J—— E——. The Daily Gazetteer,* Aug. 13.
Morell, Thomas. *To Mr. J. E. The Daily Gazetteer,* Aug. 28. Also in *The London Daily Journal,* Aug. 27.
Morell, Thomas. *To Mr. J. E. The Daily Gazetteer,* Sept. 10.

1736. Entick, John. *Letter to My Friend. The London Daily Post and General Advertiser,* July 31.
Entick, John. *To T. M. The London Daily Post and General Advertiser,* Aug. 20.
Entick, John. *To T. M. The London Daily Post and General Advertiser,* Sept. 3.

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1736. "Euphemo." *Remarks on T. M.'s Letter to J. E. in The London Journal of the 27, and the* Daily Gazetteer *of the 28. Aug. 1736. The London Daily Post and General Advertiser,* Sept. 3.

[These letters make public an extended personally abusive controversy between rival Chaucer editors, Thomas Morell, (*The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, 1737) and John Entick (*Proposals for Printing by Subscription in Two Volumes Folio the Works of . . . Sir Geoffrey Chaucer*, 1736). The matters at issue in the controversy will be discussed in a forthcoming article on "Thomas Morell as a Chaucer Editor."]

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PLANCHÉ'S EARLY CLASSICAL BURLESQUES

By Dougald MacMillan

Extravaganza and burlesque present an entertaining study to persons interested in the theatre, and the eighteen thirties are replete with examples of these trifles which crowded the London stage. They stand in a position, in the history of the drama, about half way between John Gay and W. S. Gilbert,[1] recalling the burlettas and pantomimes of the eighteenth century and pointing the way towards the comic operas of the late nineteenth. Many of these burlesques, written upon so-called classical subjects, are the most arrant nonsense. The Broughs, Burnand, and Henry James Byron turned out with great rapidity and little care an abundance of inferior pieces which have little or nothing to recommend them. They were preceded, however, by a writer of burlesques who, nevertheless, had a serious purpose and artistic ideals. He felt, rightly enough, that his extravaganzas, as he liked to call them, were his best work and worthy of serious consideration. Nearly a century after their production they present an interesting spectacle of the way in which the stage was run and samples of what tickled the palates of audiences in the days of William IV and Andrew Jackson.

The classical burlesques of James Robinson Planché were produced, with two exceptions, at the Olympic Theatre, under the management of Madame Vestris,[2] between the years 1831 and 1834, during the Christmas seasons. The first five were written in collaboration with Charles Dance.[3] They are *Olympic Revels; or, Prome-*

[1] E. L. Stahl (*Das Englische Theater im 19. Jahrhundert*, p. 152) says that musical extravaganza was "*die Mutter der Gilbert-Sullivan-Operette. Ihr literariche Vater war* James Robinson Planché, *den Deutschen nicht unbekannt als Librettist des 'Oberon'-Textes (der aber ernstgemeint ist), ihre Paten sint* Sir Francis Burnand (*der bis ins 20. Jahrhundert hinein Herausgeber des* 'Punch' *war*) *und* Henry James Byron."

[2] Eliza (Bartolozzi) Vestris, later married to Charles James Mathews, the younger. She was manager successively of the Olympic, Covent Garden, and Lyceum theatres. Cf. Pearce, C. E., *Madame Vestris and Her Times*, London, n. d.

[3] It is now impossible to determine the nature or extent of Dance's

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theus and Pandora, Jan. 3, 1831; *Olympic Devils; or, Orpheus and Eurydice,* Dec. 26, 1831; *The Paphian Bower; or, Venus and Adonis,* Dec. 26, 1832; *The Deep Deep Sea; or, Perseus and Andromeda,* Dec. 26, 1833; and *Telemachus; or, The Island of Calypso,* Dec. 26, 1834. The other two original classical burlesques, written by Planché alone, and of quite a different character from the earlier ones, are *The Golden Fleece; or, Jason in Colchis, and Medea in Corinth,* Haymarket, March 24, 1845, and *Theseus and Ariadne,* Lyceum, April 25, 1848. Later in his career, Planché returned to the Greek myths for material in two plays, but both are adaptations of the work of other authors and are only slightly original, except for the method of presentation.[4] These are an adaptation of Garrick's *Cymon,* which he made ridiculous by eighteenth century atmosphere and a conglomeration of incongruities; and *Orpheus in the Haymarket,* an arrangement of Offenbach's opera, made amusing because the burlesque tone is secured by the author's treating the subject in a very modern manner.[5]

In the case of the five early burlesques the titles alone give one a sufficiently accurate indication of the nature of the subject matter. All of them are based upon perfectly well known myths, many of which had for years served as pegs upon which to hang pantomime openings and spectacles of various sorts. Planché, however, acknowledges a definite source of *Olympic Revels,* George Colman's "The Sun Poker,"[6] a rather dull burlesque poem based upon the Prometheus story.

The method used by Planché in writing the burlesques is exceedingly simple. He dramatizes a short, well constructed story in a concise fashion, relying for success on the appeal of the story

contribution. Planché says, in connection with *Olympic Revels,* that he persuaded Dance to aid him in rewriting a farce which he had composed some years before and which had been rejected by the managers; "and in two or three evenings we brushed up the oftrejected burlesque." (Cf. Croker, T. F. D., and Tucker, Stephen, *The Extravaganzas of J. R. Planché,* London, 1879, I, 40.) The pieces are published as Planché's, with frequent acknowledgment of Dance's assistance.

[4] His adaptation of *The Birds* of Aristophanes is not a burlesque.

[5] Planché's *Cymon and Iphigenia* and *Orpheus in the Haymarket* were produced at the Haymarket, April 1, 1850, and Dec. 26, 1865, respectively.

[6] See Colman's *Broad Grins,* &c, edited by Geo. B. Buckstone, London, n. d.

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itself and of the interpolated songs. The method of construction worked out for *Olympic Revels* is the one that he adhered to, with only slight variations, in all of the pieces of this character. He tried to tell a straightforward story. Except for a Swiss Boy, there is not an anachronism in the plot of *Olympic Revels,* or a deviation from the usual story until we reach the ending, which necessarily must be made "happy." The same thing is true in greater or less degree of the other mythological burlesques, and in this respect Planché's work stands out as better than that of most of his predecessors and contemporaries in the field of light burlesque, burletta, and extravaganza. Planché is always insistent upon the preservation in their original forms, as nearly as possible, of the stories upon which his plots are based; and he rests his hopes of popular appeal upon songs and scenery.

The songs are, for the most part, new words set to familiar tunes, the method of the ballad operas of the preceding century. Planché, like Gay, had an aptitude for composing easy parody; and the songs frequently form the most pleasing bits in the burlesques. They contribute always to the action or atmosphere of the piece, fit their tunes aptly, and are quite good as humor or nonsense in themselves. Examples are abundant, as each play contains many songs. One, from *The Deep Deep Sea,* to the tune of Haynes Bayly's "We met! 'twas in a crowd," will show the usual method. The circumstance which occasions the song is the introduction of Perseus to Andromeda. The lovers think that they have met before. Perseus, to remind her of the event, sings:[7]

We met! 'Twas at the ball,
  Upon last Easter Monday;
I press'd you to be mine,
  And you said, "Perhaps, one day."
I danced with you the whole
  Of that night, and you only;
Ah, ne'er "*Cavalier seul*"
  Felt more wretched and lonely.
For when I squeezed your hand,
  As we turned one another,
You frowned, and said, "Have done!
  Or I'll speak to my mother."

[7] Croker and Tucker. *Planché's Extravaganzas,* I, 157.

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They called the Spanish dance,
  And we flew through it fleetly—
'Twas o'er—I could not breathe,
  For you'd blown me completely.
I led you to a seat
  Far away from the dancers;
Quadrilles again began,
  They were playing "the Lancers:"
Again I squeezed your hand,
  And my anguish to smother,
You smiled and said, "Dear sir,
  You may speak to my mother.'"

Of interest also among the songs are the opening choruses and the finales. One of the best of the former is that in *Olympic Devils.* The scene is Hades; the characters, Pluto, Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Æacus, sing the following "glee":

Olympian Jove
In his bowers above
  Drinks nectar by gallons gaily;
But our thirst we slake,
From a brimstone lake,
  Which is "warm without sugar" daily;
Singing, oh! that a pool of punch had we,
Instead of a flaming sulphur sea![8]

The final songs take the place of epilogues in the more serious drama and of closing choruses in later musical comedy. They are addressed to the audience and usually contain allusions to local conditions. The appeals written for Madame Vestris to sing to her audiences at the Olympic are extraordinarily effective, especially when one considers the fact that they were sung by the "musical comedy queen" of her day and one of the most beautiful women in London. It is easy to imagine the way in which she sang the last song in *Olympic Revels,* the piece with which she inaugurated her management of the theatre.[9]

Ye belles and ye beaux,
Who adorn our low rows,

[8] Croker and Tucker, I, 67.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 60. The tune is that of "Think not, lewd Jove" from Kane O'Hara's *Midas* (1764), in a revival of which Madame Vestris had made one of her earliest hits, and most lasting.

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Ye gods, who preside in the high ones;
Ye critics, who sit
All so snug in the pit,—
An assemblage of clever and sly ones!
Let the smile of content
On our efforts be bent;
Hope anxiously waits an encora;
In the fate-dooming scale
Oh! let mercy prevail,
And be kind to poor little Pandora.

The great successes in the scenic department did not come to Planché's burlesques until he was associated with the designer William Beverley in Madame Vestris' productions at the Lyceum (1847-1853), but from the beginning of his theatrical career he was much interested in good scenery inspired by an artistic sense and executed with taste and judgment. His accounts of the productions of his first classical burlesques at the Olympic give some indication of the importance with which he regarded the mounting of his pieces. He comments as follows about the costumes for *Olympic Revels:*

The extraordinary success of this experiment—for it may justly be so termed—was due not only to the admirable singing and piquante performance of that gifted lady [Madame Vestris], but also to the charm of novelty imparted to it by the elegance and accuracy of the costume; it having been previously the practice to dress a burlesque in the most *outré* and ridiculous fashion. My suggestion to try the effect of persons picturesquely attired speaking absurd doggrel fortunately took the fancy of the fair lessee, and the alteration was highly appreciated by the public; but many old actors could never get over their early impressions. Liston thought to the last that Prometheus, instead of the phrygian cap, tunic, and trousers, should have been dressed like a great lubberly boy in a red jacket and nankeens, with a pinafore all besmeared with lollipop.[10]

The author is even more pleased with the arrangements for the second classical burlesque, *Olympic Devils.* He says that with its production "another advance was made in the decorative departments," and adds:

The scenery of 'The Revels' had been limited to a few clouds, the interior of a cottage, and a well-used modern London street, which was made a joke of in the bill to anticipate criticism. Haste and the lack of funds

[10] Planché: *Recollections and Reflections,* London, 1872, I, 179-180.

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had something to do with it; but now we had both time and money. It was suggested [probably by Planché himself] that the scenery should be picturesque and in keeping with the dresses. We had a most infernal Tartarus, a very gloomy Styx, and a really beautiful Greek landscape with the portico of the Temple of Bacchus, the columns of which joined in the general dance when "Orpheus with his lute made trees," &c., to the great delight of the audience. The Bacchanalian procession, arranged by Oscar Byrne, considering the size of the stage and the numbers employed, has never been surpassed for picture and animation.[11]

Planché, naturally, is not an unbiassed observer; but in matters of this sort, where one is quite dependent upon contemporary accounts of eye-witnesses, it is necessary to accept such comment as can be found.

From beginnings of this sort, Planché progressed rapidly to a position of considerable importance in the theatre of his time. He turned from classical subjects to French fairy tales in most of his later extravaganzas and found them a fruitful source of inspiration, as did many of his imitators; but the technique and tone of Victorian burlesque was set by these early classical pieces. Unfortunately, losing the freshness of youth, Planché was swamped by elaborate scenery; and the younger generation seemed never able to capture the delicacy of nonsense coupled with a gentlemanly seriousness of purpose (not too serious) that characterizes Planché's work; so burlesque had reached a very low state when a new fashion was set by Gilbert and Sullivan.

The University of North Carolina.

[11] *Recollections and Reflections*, I, 190; and Croker and Tucker, I, 63.

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JOHN DUNTON'S CONNECTION WITH BOOK-REVIEWING

By Roger P. McCutcheon

To his own generation, John Dunton was probably best known as a publisher, although one contemporary impression of him lingers in the phrase "John Dunton, Lunatick." He has been remembered as the author of a singular autobiography, which he had the grace to call his "Life and Errors," and as the founder and editor of that popular question-and-answer journal of the seventeenth century, the *Athenian Mercury*. Various aspects of his work have been studied by recent investigators, so that he is now emerging from his former obscurity.[1]

Although he touched many different kinds of writing, it must be admitted that he adorned only one form, the periodical. As the founder of the *Athenian Mercury*, he merits more praise and attention than he has yet received. When the history of the English editorial is written, Dunton will be mentioned as a notable predecessor of Defoe. It is the purpose of this article, however, to call attention to Dunton's importance as a reviewer of books and plays, and as an influential publisher of what his own day called "journals of books."

Dunton was not the originator of the book-review in English periodicals, though, characteristically enough, he made some claim to that distinction.[2] As I have shown elsewhere by Dunton's time

[1] The amount of borrowing in his *Letters from New-England* has been demonstrated by Professor C. N. Greenough in two articles: (1) "John Dunton's Letters from New England," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Vol. 14, pp. 213-257 (1912); (2) "John Dunton again," *ibid.*, Vol. 21, pp. 232-251 (1919). Professor C. A. Moore has treated another side in "John Dunton, Pietist and Imposter," *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 22, pp. 467-500 (1925). Mr. T. M. Hatfield, in "The True Secret History of Mr. John Dunton," MS. thesis, Harvard University, 1926, has cleared up several difficult points about Dunton's biography and bibliography. Professor Walter Graham mentions Dunton's periodicals in *The Beginnings of English Literary Periodicals*, New York, 1926.

[2] He wrote he had had the idea "a long time before any thing of that Nature appear'd in publick" (advertisement in the *Athenian Mercury*

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there had been a half-century of reviewing in the English newsbooks and periodicals.[3] The reviews ranged from the bare mention of a book or pamphlet in a Civil War newsbook to an extended comment of several pages. Books were briefly commended, attacked, carefully analysed, or—and this was the more usual practise—summarized. Nor was Dunton the first in England to commend books to his readers with a personal endorsement. Ten years before Dunton's first periodical venture John Houghton had already done this. It may be safely claimed for Dunton, however, that he is the first English publisher to comprehend and to utilize the advertising possibilities of these "journals of books" to further the sale of his other publications, and the first to issue elaborate reviews before the books themselves were published.

Dunton's first periodical, the *Athenian Mercury* (No. 1, March 17, 1690-91), had as its purpose the "Resolving Weekly all the most Nice and Curious Questions Propos'd by the Ingenious." The range of the questions submitted, the extent and nature of the replies, and the evident popularity of the journal have been noted, though meagerly enough, to be sure, in the various histories of English journalism. The value of the *Mercury* as a gauge of the interests of the reading public has not been overestimated, to say the least. Occasionally, the "ingenious" sought light on literary matters, as these two queries discover: (1) "Whether Milton and Waller were not the best English Poets? and which the better of the two?" (2) "Whether Sappho or Mrs. Behn were the better Poetess?"[4]

Formal book-reviews do not appear often in the *Athenian Mercury*. Dunton once tried to start the practice of printing abstracts

for September 29, 1691). Later, he wrote: "A Third Project of mine, for the promotion of Learning, was a Monthly Journal of Books . . ." and referred to the "History of the Works of the Learned," a book-review periodical, as "*originally* my own Thought." *Life and Errors of John Dunton*, London, 1818, pp. 198, 180.

[3] See "The Beginnings of Book-reviewing in English Periodicals," *P. M. L. A.*, Vol. 37, pp. 691-706, December, 1922; and "John Houghton, a Seventeenth Century Editor and Book-reviewer," *Modern Philology*, Vol. 20, pp. 255-260, February, 1923.

[4] Sir Thomas Pope Blount thought these and their answers of sufficient importance to be cited in his *De re poetica*, London, 1694, part 2, pp. 137-8; p. 196.

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of books every week, but found it necessary to keep the question-and-answer journal separate from his "journal of books."[5] From the start he had, of course, listed some of his other publications among the advertisements at the foot of the last column of the *Mercury*. But after June, 1692, when his *Compleat Library* was appearing monthly, Dunton began to use the questions in the *Mercury* to advertise his other periodical and his books as well.

The beginning of this is in the *Mercury* for June 25, 1692. The first question in that issue inquires quite specifically about the original copy of the Bible. The answer reads: "Our *Bookseller* hath newly published a Book wherein this Question is fully answered (Entitled, *The Complete Library,*) in a Discourse concerning the Integrity of the Hebrew Bible . . . In which Discourse the Question is not only plainly stated and proved, but also the several *Objections* of *Ludovicus Capellus,* and others, against the Integrity of the Hebrew Bible, are fully answered."[6]

This trick of thus inserting what was really advertising into the reading matter of the *Mercury* was evidently successful. The *Mercury* for September 27, 1692, printed among the advertisements a notice that "Next Thursday will be Published *The Post-Boy robb'd of his Mail* . . . Printed for *John Dunton* at the *Raven* in the *Poultrey.*" The *Mercury* for Saturday, October 1, announced this as now published. In the next number of the *Mercury,* again in the strategic upper left-hand corner, Question 1 reads: "I find

[5] "Abstracts of those New Books that are publisht Weekly" is a heading in the *Mercury*, vol. 4, no. 1, Tuesday, September 29, 1691. In that number a page was devoted to abstracting part I of Rogers' *Discourse Concerning Trouble of Mind;* abstracts of parts II and III are promised "in our Next Paper," and an advertisement announces that abstracts will continue to appear weekly. The promised abstracts did not appear, however, the reason being that Dunton's plan interfered with rights that had been granted to Jean de la Crose for his *Works of the Learned.* The fight between these rival proprietors can be traced in the advertisements in the *Mercury* and the Supplements to it, and in la Crose's *Works of the Learned* for several months in 1691. Their projects were united in the *Works of the Learned* for a few numbers in 1692, then la Crose's publishers sold the right to Dunton, who thereupon started the *Compleat Library*, No. 1, May, 1692. This journal seems to have stopped in 1694.

[6] The article referred to is the first in No. 1 of the *Compleat Library* for May, 1692.

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in the Book entituled, *The Post-Boy Robb'd of his Mail* . . . A Letter of Platonick Love, it gives me so fair an Idea of that Romantick Fancy, that I could almost wish there were such a thing; if there be not, I desire your Opinion whether there be or no, and also your Judgment of that Book, and whether you think it a Fiction or not?"

The answer refers the querist to the *Compleat Library* for July, which "has given a very true Character of it . . . tho it seem'd something extravagant in the Praise," and goes on to laud the book itself, in terms which are certainly not hostile: " . . . the *Letters* are so Natural, that nothing we've seen publish'd of late (we'll scarce except the *Turkish Spy*) equals them; the *Comments* are always both Pleasant and Witty, never tedious, but full of various and surprising *Observations.* In short, if it be not Truth as to matter of Fact, (tho we are apt to believe 'tis) yet 'tis so like Truth, that it satisfies the Mind as well as Nature in 'em, being *so well drawn,* that it seems not an Imitation of Nature, but *Nature it self.*"[7]

That this device of using the questions in the *Mercury* to advertise Dunton's other periodical as well as his books proved successful we can infer from the first question in the *Mercury* for March 18, 1693. It reads:

I have read the *Second Volume of the Post-boy robb'd of his Mail,* and approve of the Character given of it. . . . All the Letters are really good, that is, *Witty and diverting,* the Moral Reflections true, and uncommon, the *Airy flights surprizing,* and I confess I know not which to preferr. I read the *Secret History* with some pleasure, and wish you cou'd inform me whether it be *real, or a Fiction.* . . . I desire to know whether we may expect a prosecution of that History in the next *volume,* I am also in *pain* for *Lysander* and *Belvidera* in the next Book, and want to know the Catastrophe of their Amour.

The answer is:

We are glad a Gentleman of your Sense and Learning concurrs with us in our Judgment of this Book, and to Satisfie your Curiosity, We are inform'd, that the *Secret History* is of some Neighbouring Countrey; and that you may expect the Conclusion of it in the next *Volume,* as well as the Amour of *Belvidera* and *Lysander.*

[7] This reply in the *Mercury* is paraphrased and summarized from the account of the book in the *Compleat Library,* July, 1692, pp. 205-207.

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Thus the readers of the *Mercury* were reminded of a book already published, and at the same time were led to expect the publication of a sequel to it. It is somewhat amusing to find Dunton commenting on the "extravagant praise" his own review had given his book, and complimenting his enquirer (*i. e.*, himself) on having sense and learning enough to concur "in our judgment of this book."

Increase Mather's *Further account of the Tryals of the New-England Witches* was published in London on June 15, 1693.[8] The first question in the *Mercury* for June 24, 1693, begins thus:

In the further Account of the Tryals of the *New-England* Witches, "Published this Week, I find the following passages. . ." Two 'remarkable passages' are quoted, with this request: "*Gent.* Your Impartial Thoughts are desir'd upon the foregoing passages?" The inquirer was no doubt fully satisfied with the reply, the "impartial thoughts" being as impartial as could be expected, since the *Further Account* was "printed for *John Dunton* at the *Raven* in the *Poultrey.*"

The first question in the *Mercury* for August 8, 1693, asks the Members of the Athenian Society for their sentiments upon the Earl of Anglesey's *Memoirs,* "publisht last Week." The answer, after praising the Earl, concludes: "as for our Opinion of the above cited Passage, We pretend not to Comment upon it better than he does himself, the Series of his whole Discourse giving the best Idea of this and other particular Passages." In other words, go buy the book; it was printed for John Dunton!

The *History of the famous edict of Nantes* was advertised as "now published" in the *Mercury* for October 7, 1693. The next number of the *Mercury,* for October 10, gives its entire space to a "short view" of this book. Dunton had been able to obtain "her Majesties Royal Licence for the printing of it," a fact which his reader was not permitted to overlook. The *Mercury* for March 20, 1694, was devoted to a long review of the *Ladies Dictionary,* "publisht yesterday" for John Dunton. The "Account of it, . . . we find ready done to our Hands by way of Extract in the *Compleat Library* for *February,* 1694, which without any Alteration

[8] See the advertisements in the *Mercury* for June 13 and 17, 1693. The book was only in part by Mather, however. See Kenneth Murdock, *Increase Mather,* Harvard University Press, 1925, p. 299, n. 36.

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is Verbatim, as follows;" [9] The book was, of course, highly recommended. Two weeks later, on April 3, 1694, the *Mercury* printed an episode from the *Ladies Dictionary* with the evident purpose of keeping up an interest in the book, since the question asked about the episode is obviously formal.

The second volume of the *History of the Edict of Nantes* was advertised as "now publisht in *English*" in the *Mercury* for June 26, 1694. The first question in the *Mercury* for August 4 reads in part:

> You having in one of your former Papers given an Abstract of the first Volume of the . . . *Edict of Nants*, I'm the better incouraged to ask you to give us one of the *Second*, which I am the more induced to desire, because I believe it might be of great benefit, as well as satisfaction to the Publick, to be better acquainted with the Persecutions of the *Papists*, which is pretty well discovered in these books.

The entire number is given over to the desired abstract.

A querist in the *Mercury* for August 11, 1694, desired the Athenian Society's "Sentiments upon the Character the Reverend Mr. *Norris* gives of *Malebranches Search after Truth* (the first Volume of which is lately Published in *London*, in *Octavo*) . . ." The reply praises both Norris and Malebranche, and concludes: "This book, which he has thus highly recommended to the World, is now done into *English* . . . by Mr. *Sault* . . . And has given such great satisfaction to the World, as to encourage the Undertakers to a speedy Publication of the *Second Volume* . . ." Sault was one of the members of Dunton's Athenian Society; [10] his translation of Malebranche was "Printed for *J. Dunton* at the *Raven* in the *Poultrey*," and was advertised directly as well as indirectly in this same issue of the *Mercury*.

An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. John Mason elicited a a query in the *Mercury* for October 30, 1694. The reply concludes:

> But for more convincing proof of Mr. *Mason's* exemplary Piety, we refer you to his Christian Letters and Poems annext to the Account of

[9] Some slight changes were made, however, the *Mercury* leaving out a few sentences from the account in the *Compleat Library*. See the *Compleat Library* for February, 1694, pp. 84 (should be 58)—63.

[10] See the "Agreement for writing the Athenian Mercury," printed from the MS. in the Bodleian, in J. Underhill, *The Athenian Oracle*, London, 1892, pp. 259-261.

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his Life; as also to that Sermon of his, which was lately printed, . . . of which the world has seen a fifth Edition in a little time. . . .

In the *Mercury* for November 13, 1694, Mason's *Life* was drawn on for

a Poem upon Death; written with Mr. *Mason*' own hand, which we were desired to insert here, for the more general dispersing of it, though we think the *Letters* Mr. *Mason* sent to several of his Friends, (annex'd to this *Account of his Life and Death*) deserve as general a Publication, they being also of singular use to promote the Power of Godliness both in persons and Families.

Whether Dunton was more interested in "promoting godliness" or the sale of his own publication may be easily answered.

Similarly, in the Mercury for March 19, 1695, an inquirer wants to know "your impartial thoughts of that Book newly Published, Entituled, *The History of all Religions in the World, from the Creation down to this present time* Written by Mr. *Turner*." He received an answer of nearly two columns, which concludes, "The *whole* is indeed so pleasant and curious that we have much ado to disengage . . ." Again, the impartiality of the thoughts may have been modified a little since Dunton was the publisher of the book.[11]

These questions in the *Mercury*, without exception, came at the top of the left-hand column of the first page, in the most strategic position the sheet offered, where even the casual reader could hardly overlook them. Frequently, too, the title of the book inquired about was in bold-face or display type. The first query about a book generally appeared within a very few days of its publication. Of course, in answers to questions a good many books were referred to incidentally, so that Dunton's own publications were not the only books to be named in the *Mercury*. Practically, however, the only books which were deliberately and fully recommended in the *Mercury* were those "printed for John Dunton."[12] That Dunton saw the adver-

[11] In the next number of the *Mercury*, for March 23, is a query about a minor point in Turner's book. The querist is referred to "our last *Mercury* . . . for a full Answer to this Question," and so, indirectly, to the book itself.

[12] Roger Coke's *Detection of the Court and State of England* was praised in the *Mercury* for September 22, 1694, and again on March 19, 1695. In the item for September 22 the book was described as "printed privately."

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tising possibilities of his two journals, and that he deliberately used the questions in the *Mercury* to attract buyers to books published by himself seems fully enough established.[18]

It is clear enough, too, that Dunton's editors sometimes were furnished advance sheets, or else had access to the manuscripts of books to be reviewed, since several times the reviews appeared before the books themselves were actually published. *The Post-boy Robb'd of His Mail* was promised for publication on Thursday, September 29, 1692, and was advertised as "published" in the *Mercury* for October 1. The *Mercury* for October 4 printed a review of this, taken from the *Compleat Library* for July. Now the July number of the *Compleat Library,* no matter how late it may have been in appearing, must have been out before October 4, to be quoted in the *Mercury* for that day. The review of the *Post-boy,* therefore, must have been prepared before the actual publication. Also, in the *Compleat Library* for February, 1694, appeared a review of the *Ladies Dictionary,* which was copied in the *Mercury* for March 20, 1694. In that same issue of the *Mercury* the *Ladies Dictionary* was advertised as "published yesterday"; i. e., March 19. *The Knowledge of the World,* another of Dunton's publications, was given a "brief view" (which really took up all the space of the issue, however) in the *Mercury* for October 9, 1694.

This is the only instance I have noted in which a book, not Dunton's, received much attention.

[18] Did the readers of the *Mercury* ever suspect that advertisements sometimes got into the reading matter? Possibly, if this query in the number for October 30, 1694, be genuine: "Having vindicated you several times of late (concerning your Mercuries) some affirming the Bookseller proposes and answers most of the Questions therein contained, but 'tis my opinion most of them are of your own Coyn, if therefore either side be wronged I desire to know, and also which are the greatest fools, the Authors, Publishers, or Buyers?" The reply suggests that other questions besides those about books were manufactured in the office: "First, Good Sir, if our Papers have any thing useful in them, it matters not whether the Bookseller be taken for the Author of them or not, we shall none of us be solicitous about it; therefore your Vindication is very unnecessary. 2*dly* Nor can we think our selves wrong'd, tho' our papers should be attributed to others, so long as we don't desire to be known. 3*dly*. As for that you want to know which are the greatest Fools, the Publishers or the Buyers, it's too difficult for us to determine, yet the Case would be plain if the *Buyers were all like you.*

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The review stated that the book was "Next Thursday to be publish'd." That would make its date of publication October 11, at the earliest, so that the review appeared at least two days before the book. In the advertisements before this time one will find notices of books "to be published tomorrow," but these notices are brief and give nothing except the words of the title-page. Dunton seems to deserve the credit of being the first to print extensive reviews in the periodicals before the books themselves were actually published.

The reviewing in the first four *Supplements to the Athenian Mercury* does not show as much evidence of Dunton's control as the reviews in the *Mercury* itself and in the *Compleat Library.* Dunton seems not to have realized at first the possibilities of his dual role of publisher and periodical proprietor.[14] The *Supplements* consisted largely of abstracts translated from the well known foreign journals, "the *Paris Journal des Scavans,* the *Acta Eruditorum Lipsiae,* the *Universal Historical Bibliotheque.*" These abstracts, hoped the editor, in his preface to the first *Supplement,* "may be of no small use to those that Buy or Peruse Books . . . since without the charge of Buying, or the loss of time in Reading, they may have a general View of them."

Here is the earliest statement, in English, that abstracts in the journals may serve as substitutes for the books themselves. Later publishers and editors quarrelled a good deal about this point, until the advertising values of the reviews came to be regarded as more important than any loss of sales. But it is to be noted that at first Dunton took no chances with his own publications: the books of other publishers might be abstracted as fully as desired; his own books, however, were not summarised fully enough to save the reader the expense of buying the books themselves. Mather's *Life of Eliot,* for instance, which was published by Dunton, was carefully abstracted, with this concluding sentence: "All which the Christian Reader may see at large in the History it self, it being a Book of that small Bulk, that even the poorest may pur-

[14] The *Supplements* were issued within two or three weeks after the completion of their respective volumes. Volume I of the *Mercury* closed May 30, 1691; Vol. II, July 25; Vol. III, September 26; Vol. IV, November 28. Not until the next year did Dunton begin to take advantage of the advertising possibilities.

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chase . . . and therefore I have been the more concise in giving an Extract of it." [15]

Another of Dunton's adventures in reviewing was *The Young Students Library*. This was not a periodical, but a folio volume, composed of "Extracts and Abridgments of the most valuable Books printed in England and in the Forreign Journals, from the year 65, to this Time." The book was advertised as "now publisht" in the *Mercury* for June 7, 1692. The young student for whom the book was intended was expected to gain instruction from a forty-page treatise on Hebrew vowel-points, and a twenty-page "Extract of a Book, Entituled, A Philosophical Essay upon Human Understanding . . . By Mr. Lock." Translations from the foreign journals predominated in the *Young Students Library*, the only English journal much drawn upon being the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*.

When la Crose's publisher sold Dunton the "right to a Journal Monthly of Books," [16] Dunton promptly started the *Compleat Library*. This was edited by "R. W., M. A.", who is readily identified as Richard Wooley.[17] Historically, this journal merits considerable praise, for reasons which can only be suggested here. For one thing, the editor departs from the established practise of abstracting, by giving occasional notes of praise or blame, by stylistic comments, and by introducing his reviews with essays which in some cases extend to several pages. Furthermore, the debt to foreign journals is very slight. Also, the editor kept fairly well his "Resolution, to insert no Extracts of any Sermons in this Work."

[15] *Supplement to the third volume of the Athenian Mercury*, p. 33.

[16] See the advertisement in the *Mercury* for May 10, 1692.

[17] "He wrote for me 'The Complete Library' . . . and all the subjects I engaged him in he performed to a nicety." (Dunton, *Life and Errors*, London, 1818, Vol. I, p. 163). In the British Museum Catalogue of Periodicals Dunton is given as the editor of the *Compleat Library*. Although Dunton's unsupported statement would not be sufficient to prove this, or indeed anything, "R. W." really was Richard Wooley, and seems to have edited the journal in question. Thomas Pope Blount, in *De re poetica*, London, 1694, cited him twice, first as "Rich. Wooley's *Compleat Library* (*op. cit.* part i, p. 33) and as "Mr. *Richard Wooley*, in the Second *Vol.* of his *Compleat Library*." (*ibid.*, part 2, pp. 165-6). Wooley gave the *De re poetica* a good review in the *Compleat Library* for February, 1694, though apologising for any seeming return of the honor Blount had done him (pp. 40-1).

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One of the interests of the late seventeenth century is reflected in the accounts of several books on the position of women. The *Compleat Library* is also noteworthy for the comparatively large proportion of popular and belletristic books included for review, as the *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* of Rabelais, St. Evremond's *Essays,* Sir William Temple's *Miscellanea,* Blount's *Censura Celebriorum Auctorum* and the *De re poetica,* and Rymer's *Short View of Tragedy.*

We have seen some of the ways in which Dunton used the *Compleat Library* as an advertising medium. In addition, books published by Dunton were reviewed in almost every issue, and were liberally advertised on pages that might otherwise have been left blank. It is not unusual to find two of Dunton's books reviewed in the same issue.[18] Books such as the *Second Spira* or the *Treatise of Fornication,* which can hardly have had much serious regard in their own day even, were reviewed in long and fulsome fashion. To the heading of the account of *A Mourning Ring,* printed for Dunton, the printer gave an exceptionally large type,[19] reminding us of the way Dunton always chose the most prominent position in the *Mercury* to insert a question about one of his own books. The editor of the *Compleat Library,* like that of the *Supplements,* took care not to abstract any of Dunton's books so fully that the sale would be spoiled. He prefaced the review of the *Treatise of Fornication* by announcing that he will write simply "an Encouragement to the Reading of the Book, and not in any ways . . . an Abridgment, that may save any Christian that labour which I would have all take." [20]

Dunton's connection with the *Athenian Mercury* and the *Compleat Library* was that of proprietor rather than editor. He exercised control rather than composed articles himself. Of the *Post-Angel,* however, which appeared monthly during 1701 and 1702, Dunton was both proprietor and editor. The reviewing in the *Post-Angel,* therefore, since it is by Dunton himself, will afford us a more direct glimpse of his literary tastes and ideals.

[18] See the *Compleat Library,* vol. 2, pp. 187, 197.

[19] See the *Compleat Library,* Vol. I, p. 265. C. A. Moore, in "John Dunton, Pietist and Imposter," *Studies in Philology,* vol. 22, p. 484, comments also upon this review.

[20] See the *Compleat Library,* Vol. I, p. 316.

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Reviewing was a quite secondary purpose in the *Post-Angel*. The bulk of each issue dealt with curious happenings and "spiritual observations" on these, together with questions and answers, many of which came from the files of the *Athenian Mercury*. Only the fifth section of the *Post-Angel* was to consider books. Dunton wrote:

> The fifth part of my Undertaking is to . . . give an exact Account *of all the Books that are publish'd Monthly*, provided the Booksellers (for the promoting their own Trade) will send me the *Titles of all they have Printed, and have now going to the Press* . . . and as giving now and then *a brief Idea* of a Book, is no intrenchment on the *Works of the Learned*, so 'twill be of *use to those that buy or peruse Books*, since they may in my *Observator* be inform'd *what may be most worth their Reading*.[21]

Dunton's practise in the *Post-Angel* was to give a list of the books just published and in the press, and then, in the character of the "Spiritual Observator," to make brief remarks upon some of those listed. We find him in the first issue praising some books because Richard Chiswell or Jacob Tonson had published them, or because they had been praised in the *Works of the Learned*. "As to Sir *Philip Warwick's* Memoirs, All I shall say of this Book is this, The *Name* of the Bookseller that prints it [Richard Chiswell] is a sufficient Recommendation of it, for tho' I buy every Book that I find with his Name to it (and have done so this 20 years) yet I never bought an ordinary Book of his publishing, or one that was printed upon bad paper." [22]

Some of his literary pronouncements are worth quoting in part. Dennis's *Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry*, he thought,

> Cannot but please; for Mr. Denis the best reconciles the Critick to the Poet of any Man in the World. Artifice spoileth Nature, and we here find that a Painted Discourse (if I may use the Expression) and too exact, as much displeaseth delicate Minds, as high Flights displease Men of a good Judgment: and that a Thought is vicious, even in a Poem, when it is too far sought, and not spiritualiz'd. But while we are pleas'd with the Beauty and Charm of Mr. Denis's Reform'd Poetry, we cannot but wish he wou'd publish more of his Prose.[23]

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[21] *Post-Angel*, Preface, No. 1, January, 1701.

[22] *Post-Angel*, January, 1701, p. 70. In similar terms he praised Chiswell in his *Life and Errors*, London, 1818, vol. I, p. 204.

[23] *Post-Angel*, May, 1701, pp. 383-4.

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He thought highly of Nahum Tate's *Congratulatory Poem on the Parliament.* "There is a largeness of Fancy in these Verses beyond what I have met with in our late Poems (I only except *The True-born Englishman,* and the Poem called *The Dispensary*)." [24] *The True-born Englishman,* in his opinion, was "the finest Piece of Wit that this Age has produc'd (except the Poem called, *The Dispensary*)." [25] He thought Montaigne's *Essays* "the best Book of Essays that were ever Publish'd, as the Author makes his own Experience the Subject of every Chapter . . . every Page of it is adorn'd with all the Gifts which can render Conversation Ingenious and Sparkling." [26] Lawrence Eachard's *General Ecclesiastical History,* which Jacob Tonson published, received this praise:

> The Nobleness and Difficulty of the Argument, the Character of the Author, and the Reputation of the Bookseller, with what Account we have of the Performance in the Works of the Learn'd, are sufficient Recommendations, and therefore we shan't waste Paper and Time in putting off the Commodity, where there's so little occasion.[27]

But Dunton was also quite capable of giving two pages of fulsome praise to Samuel Wesley's *History of the New Testament . . . Attempted in Verse,* concluding, "his Heroick Poem on the Life of Christ, and this on the new Testament, is an Immortal Work, and deservedly ranks him with Herbert, Cowley, Dryden, and the best Wits of the Age." [28]

Among Dunton's borrowings, those literary thefts which he hardly bothered to disguise, yet which he attempted in various ways to condone, may be numbered this, from his review of an obscure controversial pamphlet:

> Of this Pamphlet I shall only say, if a Man's Wit be wandring, let him study the Mathematicks; for in Demonstration, if his Wit be call'd away never so little, he must begin again; but if his Wit be not apt to distinguish or find Differences (where there's no occasion for it), let him read this unmannerly reply. . . .[29]

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[24] *Post-Angel,* June, 1701, p. 455. He praised Tate several times in the *Post-Angel.* See, for example, the August, 1701, number, p. 124.

[25] *Post-Angel,* April 1701, p. 312.

[26] *Post-Angel,* June, 1701, p. 456.

[27] *Post-Angel,* September, 1702, p. 167.

[28] *Post-Angel,* July, 1701, p. 63. We must remember that Wesley and Dunton had married sisters.

[29] *Post-Angel,* January, 1701, pp. 69-70. The *Post-Angel* has several

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In the list of publications in the *Post-Angel* Dunton inserted the titles of plays, but at first declined to "so misspend my time as to make any Remarks upon 'em . . . and certainly 'tis time for Plays in *England* to be thought of as (they are) the *Nursery* of *Vice,* and *Debauchery.* . . ." [30] A year and a half later, however, he reviewed Mrs. Centlivre's *The Beau's Duel:*

We declin'd Remarking on it the last Month merely because 'twas the Off-Spring of a Lady, for you know, taking a Lady's Play in Pieces, is next Door to ravishing the Original, and a Woman's Performance, shou'd be treated with as much Tenderness as her Person. . . . In the First Place, the Play is mis-named; it shou'd not have been call'd *The Beau's Duel* . . . Sir *William* and *Ogle,* from whom this Title is taken, are but under Characters . . . The Duel was dispatch'd long ago, 'twas but an Incident of inferior consideration, and cou'd never pretend to give a name to a whole Comedy . . . The Plot is not well wrought; *Clarinda's* and *Emilia's* Frolick in Men's Cloaths, seems altogether superfluous. Now every Step in a Play shou'd be subordinate to the whole; one *Episode* ought to fall naturally into another, and conspire to the Production of the great Design; . . . upon the News of *Clarinda's* marriage, *Careful* resolves to [marry also] whereupon *Toper,* a drunken revelling Fellow, procures him a Mistress, whom he marries; This Marriage seems both improbable and needless. . . . The Moral of the Play seems to be this, That Ladies shou'd follow their own Measures in the choice of Husbands; make the best of it, and it gives us this Moral Lecture; that Parents shou'd not be regarded, when they cross upon Reason, and perswade those Courses, which we are sensible will prove fatal to us, which is no very great Discovery, though it borders unluckily in a License for Disobedience.[31]

Among Dunton's claims to be remembered as a reviewer, not the least notable is his habit of reviewing books of which he was author as well as publisher. In his *Voyage around the World,* which ap-

instances of such paraphrasing, all without any acknowledgment of the source. *Hamlet* was thus drawn on in the number for March, 1701, p. 153. Iago's "who steals my purse" was utilized in April, 1701 (p. 312). Dunton was quite capable of praising his own literary honesty, as in the *Dublin Scuffle,* p. 117; of borrowing lavishly without quotation marks, as here; and of justifying his thefts in such language as this: ". . . if (by Accident) I meet with a *Sterlin Thought,* I so melt it down that no Man can tell (*by the Mark that's upon it*) that this or that Notion was his." Preface to *Stinking Fish: or, a foolish poem,* London, 1708, p. viii.

[30] *Post-Angel,* February, 1701, p. 148.

[31] *Post-Angel,* August, 1702, pp. 116-117. Dunton has probably been reading Collier's *Short View.*

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peared in 1691, he wrote, in "The chapter of the booksellers": "And now I am about Godly Books, commend me to *Dunton's Blessed Martyrs,* which I remember, among other things, I had once upon my Note." He may have thought to disguise this praise of his own work by using a pen-name for the *Voyage.* In the *Post-Angel,* ten years later, he did much more of this. His *Merciful Assizes* was announced as "now published" in the March, 1701, number, where its title headed the list of forty-seven new books issued that month. As editor of the *Post-Angel,* Dunton acknowledged his authorship of the *Merciful Assizes,* and spent two pages in praising it.[32] A month later Dunton wrote, ". . . my *Panegyrick* on the late Lord *Jefferies* . . . having met with such a kind Reception . . . it has tempted me to write a *Satyr* on a very *Great Man.*"[33]

He advertised *The Case is Alter'd: Or Dunton's Remarriage to the same Wife* very fully, though he did not quite acknowledge his authorship of it, as will be seen. The first notice of it is headed:

> Remarks on the New-Essay that was Publish'd Yesterday, Entitled: The Case is Alter'd: or *Dunton*'s Re-marriage to the same Wife. . . . This New Essay is written by my Amanuensis (Mr. John Dunton), . . . is so great a Novelty as has no President. I shall therefore give a very particular Character of this Book . . . This Essay is written by way of Letters: In the first of which, Mr. *Dunton* gives a pleasant Description of Re-marriage . . . [the whole is] a Subject so New and Diverting, that a Person of Quality has sent me a Letter upon this Subject, which I'll insert in my next Journal, as it gives a Pleasant Character of Mr. Dunton's Re-marriage (one of the best Friends I have in the World) and of that *Diverting Book* which he has newly Publish'd on that Subject.

The review particularized the "several heads" of *The Case is Alter'd.*[34] In the December number this "letter from a person of quality" was printed, and was referred to as the letter "sent to Mr. *John Dunton* (my Amanuensis)." It was commented on in the "Spiritual Observator" which followed it.[35]

[32] *Post-Angel,* March, 1701, pp. 229-230. The book was really an abbreviated re-edition of a work by John Tutchin, says Mr. Hatfield, in his MS. dissertation, p. 159.

[33] *Post-Angel,* April, 1701, p. 312.

[34] *Post-Angel,* October, 1701, pp. 250-252.

[35] *Post-Angel,* December, 1701, pp. 415-416. Dunton referred to himself

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Not only, then, did Dunton first use the periodicals to advertise and to review the other publications of their proprietor, in a few instances before these had actually appeared, but his work as a reviewer of books and plays is not without interest, and he could even review a book of his own writing without blushing overmuch. For his sagacity as an advertiser he is more to be praised than for his keenness as a critic. The present writer has found it possible to develop a genuine respect for the man who could utilize advertising possibilities which are quite familiar to us, but which his contemporaries did not see.

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as his "amanuensis" because he had not yet acknowledged the authorship of the *Post-Angel*. As late as the November, 1701, number an inquirer asked if the author of the *Post-Angel* were not Mr. Motteux. What the proprietor of the *Gentleman's Journal* thought of this conjecture has not been recorded.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF *GRAHAM'S MAGAZINE*

By Frank Luther Mott

The increasing use, by researchers, of material from periodicals makes separate studies of the leading magazines desirable. Any evidence upon the problem of the reliability of periodicals used as sources is welcome, and one cannot go far into the evidence without entering upon an inquiry into the history of the magazine in question. The question of reliability, then, is one of the considerations which may properly motivate a magazine study; others are the importance of the economic stimulus which periodicals have exerted upon literary development, their standing as *editiones principes* of important works, the effect of editorial supervision upon literature, and (most important of all, and the chief reason for the use of periodicals for source material) the commanding position of such publications as contemporary mouthpieces for the intellectual movements, the social and political currents, the economic, industrial, religious, and geographical development, and the literary and artistic life of their times.

The subject of this study is *Graham's Magazine,* one of the most important American periodicals of the 'forties.[1] It grew out of

[1] The following bibliographical notes give the chief data in regard to the *Casket-Graham's:*

Titles:

The Casket: Flowers of Literature, Wit and Sentiment, 1826-38. [Above is from engraved title-page. Heading ran "Atkinson's Casket, or Gems of Literature, Wit, and Sentiment, 1826-Jan. 1827, and again 1831-April 1839, at other times corresponding closely to title-page.]

The Casket, and Philadelphia Monthly Magazine. Embracing Every Department of Literature: Embellished with Engravings, the Quarterly Fashions, and Music, Arranged for the Piano-Forte, Harp, and Guitar. 1839-40.

Graham's Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine (The Casket and Gentleman's United). Embracing Every Department of Literature: Embellished with Engravings, Fashions, and Music, Arranged for the Piano-Forte, Harp, and Guitar. 1841-42, July 1843-June 1844. [The part after the parenthesis varies somewhat.]

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Atkinson's Casket, which is important chiefly as the earlier series of *Graham's.* The *Casket* was a monthly miscellany of unprepossessing appearance and small print, consisting of tales and articles chiefly taken from other periodicals, puzzles, jokes, a "School of Flora," music, and the inevitable poetry corner. Samuel C. Atkinson and Charles Alexander, founders of the *Casket,* were also founders of the *Saturday Evening Post,* and all three of the *Casket* editors were connected with the *Post.* In fact, the *Casket* seems, through its first sixteen volumes, little more than a monthly edition of its older associate. Many of its tales were taken from the *Post;* and consequently many distinctively American stories, by Mark Bancroft and others, found place in its pages. The prize-competition mania of the times affected Atkinson: a Miss Siggers

Graham's Magazine of Literature and Art. Jan.-June 1844.
Graham's American Monthly Magazine of Literature and Art. July 1848-June 1856.
Graham's Illustrated Magazine of Literature, Romance, Art, and Fashion. July 1856-1858.
[Headings and engraved title-pages all "Graham's Magazine," 1841-58. Heading Dec. 1840 "Graham's Magazine."]

First issue: January, 1826. Last issue: December, 1858.

Periodicity:
Monthly. Octavo, 1826-39; royal octavo, 1840-58.
One volume yearly 1826-38. [i-xiii.]
Two volumes yearly 1839-58. [xiv]-liii.
(i-xiv not numbered. Error on t. p. xvi says xvii (Jan.-June 1840.) Error in Index heading of xlviii says "Contents of the Forty-Seventh Volume.")

Publishers (all at Philadelphia): Atkinson & Alexander, 1826-27; Samuel C. Atkinson, 1828-April 1839; George R. Graham, May 1839-July 1848, April 1850-Dec. 1853; Samuel D. Patterson & Company, Aug. 1848-March 1850; R. H. See & Company, 1854-June 1856; Watson & Company, July 1856-1858.

Editors: Samuel C. Atkinson, 1826-39; George R. Graham and Charles J. Peterson, 1839-40; George R. Graham, Charles J. Peterson, Edgar Allan Poe, 1841; George R. Graham, Charles J. Peterson, Edgar Allan Poe, Mrs. Emma C. Embury, Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, Rufus W. Griswold, 1842 (Poe resigned as literary editor in May and was succeeded by Griswold); George R. Graham and Rufus W. Griswold, 1843 (Griswold resigned in October); George R. Graham, 1843-47, 1850-53; George R. Graham, Robert T. Conrad, J. R. Chandler, and J. B[ayard] Taylor, 1848 (Conrad is on t. p. of xxxii only; Taylor joined in September and Chandler in October); Charles Godfrey Leland, 1857(?)-58.

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of Boston wrote the prize story of 1827, and a frightfully sentimental piece of writing it was.[2] There were also prize poems and prize essays that year and later.

The *Casket's* engraved plates, which appeared in each number, were mostly borrowed from American and English annuals and from other periodicals. In the first few numbers there were also some unimpressive woodcuts of flowers and of American scenery by G. S. Gilbert. The publication of colored fashions in competition with the new *Godey's* was begun in 1831, the first one showing Queen Adelaide in a very fancy dress. These appeared at the rate of one or two a year up to 1836, when there were four. A fine portrait of Willis G. Clark by Sartain in mezzotint should be mentioned; it was published in January, 1840.

A change for the better took place when George R. Graham bought the magazine in May, 1839. At the beginning of the next year he enlarged the page, giving the *Casket* the same format as its neighbor, *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine,* and in November Graham purchased the *Gentleman's* to combine with the *Casket.* The December numbers, therefore, of the two magazines are identical, except that the last eight pages of the *Gentleman's* are devoted to the concluding installment of a De Kock serial which had been running in that lightsome periodical; and both have the heading "Graham's Magazine."

George R. Graham was twenty-six years old when he gained control of the magazine property which he was soon to make preëminent in this country. He had learned cabinet making as a boy, and had studied law while working at his trade. Though he was admitted to the bar in 1839, he immediately turned to magazinedom for his career, connecting himself in that year with the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *Casket.* In 1840 he not only made the merger just referred to, but became a part owner of the *Post.*

The new *Graham's* followed the policy of the *Gentleman's Magazine* rather than that of the *Casket,* whose serial numbering it retained for longevity. Like the *Gentleman's, Graham's* published tales which were a bit sensational, dealing with love, American adventure, the Orient, and so on, along with poetry, a little travel, and entertaining book reviews. But *Graham's* soon forged far

[2] *Casket,* I, 174-76, May, 1827.

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ahead of its model in both literary value and illustration. James Russell Lowell (sometimes signing "H. Perceval"), Edgar Allan Poe, Mrs. Sigourney, George Pope Morris, Alfred B. Street, Park Benjamin, Willis Gaylord Clark, and Thomas Buchanan Read were among its writers of the first year; in the next year the following were listed as "Principal Contributors" on the title-page (Vol. XXI): William Cullen Bryant, James Fennimore Cooper, Richard Henry Dana, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Charles Fenno Hoffman, Theodore S. Fay, J. H. Mancur, Mrs. Emma C. Embury, Mrs. Seba Smith, "Mary Clavers," Mrs. E. F. Ellett, Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, Mrs. Frances Osgood. Longfellow's *Spanish Student* appeared in *Graham's* in 1842, and Cooper's *Naval Commanders*. Enter, in 1843, to the sound of waltz music and jingling of silver dollars, Nathaniel Parker Willis, to whom the magazine owes much of its brightness and charm during the ensuing years. Another star, though of different luster, was Henry William Herbert, who, under the name of "Frank Forrester," wrote *Field Sports and Pastimes* and other serials. Following his custom of printing his famous names on cover and title-page, Graham was able to add such names as Paulding, Tuckerman, and Joseph C. Neal to his lists of 1843 [3]; and Holmes, whom he calls "the most accomplished humorous poet in the country," [4] was listed in 1844. In the latter year Graham claims to be the exclusive publisher of Longfellow, Bryant, Paulding, and Cooper.[5]

A typical number of *Graham's* during the 'forties contained three or four short stories, a light essay on manners, a biographical sketch, a literary article, a considerable amount of poetry, narrative, lyrical and didactic, an outdoor sketch by "Frank Forrester," a travel article, fine arts and book-review departments, and a chat with the editor; besides the colored fashion plate, and one or two art plates by well-known engravers. Short stories were not *Graham's* strongest feature, though Poe did much to bring up the

[3] Also Washington Allston, William H. Burleigh, Reynell Coates, Walter Colton, T. C. Grattan, George H. Colton, Robert T. Conrad, George Hill, W. A. Jones, Cornelius Mathews, Robert Morris, W. W. Story, R. H. Wilde, H. H. Weld, A. M. F. Annan, "Maria del Occidente." Poe was not in these lists until Vol. XXII, nor Lowell until XXIV.

[4] *Graham's*, XXV, 48, Jan., 1844.

[5] *Graham's*, XXVI, 48, July, 1844.

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average, and Willis, Seba Smith, and the Mesdames Osgood, Smith, Stephens, Neal, Kirkland and others contributed notable tales. The serial story did not occupy in the 'forties the important position that it later came to hold in the magazines designed, as *Graham's* was, largely for women; though there were occasional serials. One of the chief distinctions of *Graham's,* however, was its light essays; and Willis was the prince of the essayists of the period, with Tuckerman, Hoffman, Fay, and Paulding in his train. Poetry, too, was important, both because of the fame of the contributors and the space usually devoted to it. The literary criticism was uneven, but on the whole not highly significant; certain of Poe's articles are nothing less than epochal in American criticism, and some of Griswold's work is not to be despised; but there is also no little puffery. There was little or no discussion of public questions.

One of the leading features of the magazine was its illustration. At the very beginning of Graham's ownership, he decided to abandon the policy common to the monthlies of publishing impressions from steel and copper plates which had been used already, and to have new plates engraved expressly for *Graham's* in each number. John Sartain, who was engaged to work exclusively for the new magazine,[6] confesses in his memoirs that "the boldness of the enterprise astonished me," and he attributes Graham's success chiefly to the pictures.[7] In the first volume there was a rich mezzotint by Sartain and a colored fashion plate in each number; in the second volume, a third plate for each issue was added. This plan prevailed to the end of Graham's first editorship, with occasional substitutions of fancy embossed designs for plates, or a plain plate for colored fashions. There was some effort made to give "American tone and character" to the illustrations, and in 1845 announcement was made of the engagement of artists "for several years, to finish up the most elegant series of American subjects ever given to the world." Battlefields, Indians, westerns, and scenic subjects had place in this "elegant series." C. H. Bodmer contributed western scenes, and other engravers were H. S. Sadd, W. E. Tucker, A. L. Dick, Hatch and Smillie, and Rawdon Wright. But in the

[6] *Graham's*, XIX, 308, Dec., 1841. This exclusive employment on *Graham's* cannot have lasted long.

[7] Sartain, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

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main, *Graham's* plates were of sentimental and domestic scenes, fair ladies, and romantic landscapes. Under Patterson's management the number of plates in each number was increased to four, and even more, and the later enterprise of the *Century* was anticipated when W. E. Tucker was sent to Europe to engrave old masters in 1849. A department of Fine Arts was inaugurated upon the beginning of Graham's second editorship, and a series on "The Art and Artists of America" ran through 1855-56, illustrated by woodcuts. The experiment of illustration à la *Harper* in 1852 had not been a success; the cuts were of low quality and never as numerous as in *Harper's*. By 1855 *Graham's* had returned to the policy with which it began—startling then but now out of date—of publishing one colored fashion plate [8] and one other plate in each number, and to this it adhered through the remainder of its existence.

It is evident enough that Graham had less of real literary appreciation than of shrewd publisher's sense. Contributors' names meant much to him, and he paid for them accordingly. In the matter of payment to authors he set a new example for American magazines, and ushered in a new era. Expansive, genial, and naturally liberal, he bound his writers to him, and all profited alike in the golden success which surrounded his magazine. Willis, upon leaving off his contributions to *Graham's* and *Godey's,* in order to devote himself to his own *New Mirror,* addressed his former employers in the following apostrophe: "Adieu, O Gemini! Adieu, *Godey* and *Graham!* Most liberal of paymasters—most gentle of taskmasters—Pashaws of innumerable tales, adieu! adieu! adieu! We have learned to love you in our captivity. . . . Pleasant has been our correspondence! Pleasant the occasional meetings in your city of Phil-gemini — Phil-adelphia — Phil-Graham-and-Godey (synonyms not down in Crabbe)!" The two magazines addressed by Willis, alike in many things, were, in short, alike in the financial encouragement they extended to American authors. And George R. Graham, who set the ball rolling, profited by his generosity. Lowell writes to Carter in 1845: "I have seen Graham and shall probably be able to make a good arrangement for him. . . . He has grown fat, an evidence of success. He lives in one of the

[8] "Our Paris fashions cost us $945 per month for designing, engraving, printing, and coloring." XL, 336, March, 1852.

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finest houses in Arch Street, and keeps his carriage."[9] Young George W. Childs, sweeping off the sidewalk in front of his employer's shop, gazed in awe at the magnate driving down the street behind his trotting bays.[10]

For literary discrimination, as well as for contributions, Graham depended much upon his co-editors. His friend and associate on the *Post,* Charles J. Peterson, was faithful and capable help until after *Peterson's Magazine* was begun in 1842. This venture, suggested by Graham,[11] robbed him also of Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, another member of the staff, who went to the new magazine with Peterson. Edgar Allan Poe, who had been associated with Burton for one year in the editorship of the *Gentleman's,*[12] became a member of the Graham editorial staff in 1841. Biographers of Poe have generally failed to recognize that he was not the editor-in-chief of the magazine, but literary editor, expected to provide the book notices and, for extra pay, a certain amount of the literary contents. As a matter of fact, some of his best writing was done for *Graham's* during the fifteen months of his connection with it. His opening contribution, an "article" called "The Murders in the Rue Trianon-Bas" in the original manuscript[13] but revised to the more suggestive "Rue Morgue," appeared in April, 1841. "A Descent into the Maelstrom" came out in the next month. "To Helen" appeared in small type at the bottom of a page in September of that year, and "The Masque of the Red Death" in May, 1842. Indeed, contributions by Poe were printed in every number from April, 1841, to June, 1842. His criticism was characteristically ungenerous, as a rule, but acute and meticulous. The famous article on Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales* appeared in May,

[9] Scudder's *Lowell,* I, 153.

[10] *Critic,* XX, 131, Feb. 27, 1892.

[11] Smyth's *Philadelphia Magazines,* p. 225.

[12] Graham's statement to Smyth (*op. cit.,* p. 217) that Poe was recommended to him by Burton at the time he bought the magazine is scarcely worthy of credence in view (1) of Graham's condition in his later years, when the interview took place, (2) of the bitterness between Burton and Poe in the year of the sale, and (3) the fact that Graham did not employ Poe until some months later. Graham's language would imply that he was merely passing over "his young editor" to Graham; he had parted with him in anger five months earlier.

[13] John Sartain's *Reminiscences of a Very Old Man,* p. 199.

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1842. But it was difficult, if not impossible, for Poe to adjust himself to the grind of magazine work. As early as June, 1841, he wrote to his friend F. W. Thomas, "Notwithstanding Graham's unceasing civility and real kindness, I feel more and more disgusted with my situation." Differences with his fellow editor, Charles J. Peterson, were the immediate cause of his resignation in May, 1842, according to John Sartain; though the feeling that he had been supplanted by Rufus W. Griswold, who had joined the staff of *Graham's* and the *Post* in May,[14] perhaps had something to do with it, and his general "disgust" had increased. Poe wrote to his friend Thomas immediately after the resignation: "My reason for resigning was disgust at the namby-pamby character of the magazine. . . . I allude to the contemptible pictures, fashion-plates, music, and love-tales."[15] Of Graham himself Poe spoke kindly both in this letter and in his article about American magazines in the *New World* the following March. In the latter utterance he calls his former employer "a friend to men of talents of every cast."[16] Certain letters that Poe had written in 1841 had expressed the faith that Graham would help him with his own project for the *Penn Magazine,* which was never started; but by the time of his resignation he had been disappointed in that hope, however precariously founded it may have been, and was occasionally displaying some bitterness on that account.[17] Graham

[14] Graham offered him the position May 3, 1842, at a thousand dollars a year (*Passages from the Correspondence of R. W. Griswold,* p. 106) and the *Saturday Evening Post* announced the connection May 14 (Woodberry's *Poe,* p. 174). *Graham's,* however, did not announce him until July (XXI, 60) when he was named as Poe's successor.

[15] Poe's *Complete Works,* Harrison ed., XVII, 111, May 25, 1842.

[16] *New World,* VI, 303, March 11, 1843.

[17] In a letter to Daniel Bryan, dated July 6, 1842, and now in the Charles Aldrich Autograph Collection, Iowa Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa (not printed in Harrison), Poe says in regard to his plans for the Penn Magazine: "I was induced to abandon the project . . . by the representations of Mr. Graham. He said that if I would join him as a salaried editor, giving up, for the time, my own scheme, he himself would unite with me at the expiration of six months, or certainly at the end of a year. Mr. G. was a man of capital and I had no money. The result has proved his want of faith and my own folly. In fact, I was continually laboring against myself. Every exertion made by myself for the benefit of "Graham," rendering that Mag. a greater source of profit, rendered the owner,

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himself was uniformly friendly toward Poe, continued to publish his work, and after Griswold's attack, rushed to the defense of the dead poet's memory.[18]

Griswold, the new literary editor, was a young journalist who had seen service on such popular weeklies as the *New Yorker* and *Brother Jonathan,* and enjoyed a very wide acquaintance among writers. He had just published his *Poets and Poetry of America,* which had excited much comment, chiefly favorable, and had won him the cordial enmity of those *littérateurs* whom he had omitted. That Griswold was a literary log-roller the reader of his *Correspondence* can scarcely doubt, but it is equally indubitable that he had some of the qualities of a good editor. His term of service with *Graham's* was but little longer than that of Poe; then other activities claimed him.

Robert T. Conrad, Joseph R. Chandler, and Bayard Taylor appear with Graham as editors in 1848. Conrad was one of that large group of semi-professional men of letters which was prominent in the Philadelphia life of that time. Like Graham, he was a lawyer turned editor; later he became a judge and mayor of Philadelphia. One or two plays of his had enjoyed success, and he had been a contributor to a number of magazines before his brief editorial connection with *Graham's.* Chandler had been editor of the *United States Gazette,* which Graham had just purchased, and in the year of his *Graham* editorship was elected to Congress. He was a publicist of varied attainments. Taylor's star had but lately risen. He was, in a measure, a discovery of Griswold's, but would have got himself discovered by some other watcher of the literary skies if Griswold had not just then been a kind of semi-official searcher of the firmament of letters. He was offered a position and a salary like Griswold's in July, 1848, and accepted; but the plans did not work out, and he was never more than a contributing editor, resident the while in New York.[19]

at the same time, less willing to keep his word to me. At the time of our bargain (a verbal one) he had 6000 subscribers—when I left him he had more than 40,000. It is no wonder that he has been tempted to leave me in the lurch."

[18] *Graham's,* XXXVI, 224-26, March, 1850.

[19] *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor,* Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace E. Scudder, editors, I, 126.

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This was after disaster had fallen upon George R. Graham, and he had been forced to dispose of his magazine to Samuel D. Patterson & Company. He had begun with 5500 subscribers,[20] and at the end of the first year of his magazine he had written with substantial accuracy, "Our success has been unexampled, almost incredible," and had claimed 25,000 circulation.[21] In a few months he was advertising 40,000.[22] It was said that for some years the magazine yielded its owner fifty thousand dollars a year.[23] Reckless in the midst of this prosperity, Graham bought two Philadelphia newspapers in 1846 and merged them into the *North American,* at the same time financing a third paper, the *Evening Bulletin.* These were losing ventures, and the crisis was hastened by large investments in mining stock. "Had I not," wrote Graham, "in an evil hour forgotten my own true interests and devoted that capital and industry to another business which should have been confined to the magazine, I should today have been under no necessity."[24]

The two years under the management of Patterson made no very noticeable difference in the magazine; the fact is that it had been experiencing a slump for the preceding three or four years. In 1850 Graham was able to regain control. "I can yet show the world that he who started life a poor boy with but eight dollars in his pocket and has run such a career as mine is hard to put down," he had written at the time of his catastrophe.[25] But a declining magazine is harder to revive than a new one is to create, and in spite of premiums, circulation boasts,[26] a great exchange list,[27] and

[20] Sartain, *op. cit.*, p. 198. Graham claimed eight thousand at the beginning, but Sartain says: "I know because I furnished the impressions of the plates I engraved." He corroborates the claim of forty thousand, however, placing the time at the end of the second year. Graham, in his second editorship (XXXVII, 44, July, 1850), said the circulation was thirty thousand in January, 1850. This confusion is to be expected in our period; neither contemporary circulation claims or later reminiscences are very reliable.

[21] *Graham's*, XIX, 308, Dec., 1841.

[22] *Graham's*, XX, 154, March, 1842.

[23] *Critic*, XXV, 45, July 21, 1894.

[24] *Graham's*, XXXIII, 240, Oct., 1848. See also XXXVII, 45, Aug., 1850.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] He advertised 80,000 in November, 1850.

[27] It numbered 1200 names.

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an enlargement in size, *Graham's* never again reached that pitch of success that it had known in the early 'forties. William Gilmore Simms became a faithful contributor, with Henry B. Hirst, Mrs. Amelia B. Welby, and Grace Greenwood. Edwin P. Whipple wrote articles and reviews. R. H. Stoddard, Julie C. R. Dorr, and John G. Saxe wrote verse, and Caroline Cheseboro, contributed tales. The competition of *Harper's* was difficult to meet after 1850. Graham first tried criticism of his rival: "*Harper's* is a good foreign magazine, but it is not *Graham's* by a long way. . . . The veriest worshipper of the dust of Europe will tire of the dead level. . . ."[28] Then he tried competition in kind, evidenced by J. T. Headley's biographical serial on Washington (far shorter than Abbott's "Napoleon" in *Harper's*), by the addition of a "Monthly Summary" in 1854, and "Comicalities" with woodcuts, in 1852, by the temporary substitution of woodcuts for plates in 1852, by the transformation of the "Editor's Table" into an essay department, and by the use of material from English periodicals from 1852 on.

Still the magazine languished. The *coup de grâce,* thought Graham,[29] was given by a review of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* which ran counter to Northern sentiment. "It is a BAD BOOK," says Graham in small caps, writing a signed rejoinder to his critics.

> It gives an unfair and untrue picture of Southern life. It is badly constructed, badly timed, and made up for a bad purpose. . . . Not to particularize the many assaults which have been made upon us with appeals to Northern men to withdraw from the support of the Magazine, we now tell the whole fraternity of proscriptives that we are not to be gagged or coughed down. We feel nothing but unutterable contempt for the whole class of *liberty* people (falsely so named) whose ideas of liberty consist in allowing nobody to live who expresses sentiments adverse to their notions.[30]

Later Graham finds everything topsy-turvy in Philadelphia, with *Uncle Tom* being played at two theatres.[31]

There is something pathetic about this pun, good as it is, like a quip on death by a dying wit. It was the month after his witticism on what seemed to Graham the tragic trend of Northern senti-

[28] *Graham's,* XXVIII, 280, March, 1851.
[29] *Critic,* XXV, 45, July 21, 1895.
[30] *Graham's,* XLII, 366, March, 1853.
[31] *Graham's,* XLIII, 553, Nov., 1853.

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ment, that the disappointed editor gave up the struggle and again sold his magazine. He later filled positions upon various newspapers, but a failure of his sight forced him to retire upon a pension provided until his death in 1894 by the man who, as a boy sweeping the sidewalk, had once admired him so greatly—a reversal of fortune worthy a *Graham* tale.

From this time forward the magazine deteriorated rapidly. Charles Godfrey Leland was hired to edit it, and did so without pride or enthusiasm. "I filled it recklessly with all or any kind of literary matter as best I could, little or nothing being allowed for contributions," he wrote in his *Memoirs*.

> However, I raised the circulation from almost nothing to 17,000. For this I received fifty dollars per month. When I finally left it, the proprietors were eighteen months in arrears due, and tried to evade payment, though I had specified a regular monthly settlement. Finally, they agreed to pay me in monthly installments of fifty dollars each, and fulfilled the engagement.[32]

In these years the "Editor's Easy Talk," written by Leland, was the most enjoyable part of the magazine. "I had one day a space to fill," says Leland. "In a hurry I knocked off 'Hans Breitman's Party' (1856). I gave it no thought whatever."[33] But it made him famous, and in spite of his varied serious attainments, it is as "Hans Breitman" that he is remembered.

In the number for December, 1858, the publishers announced that in the following year the magazine would be continued as the "American Monthly." It appears, however, that it was transformed into a women's periodical, for the *Knickerbocker*, itself approaching a similar fate, printed this news note in May, 1859: "Charles G. Leland has retired from the editorship of the *Ladies' Illustrated Magazine*, late *Graham's*, of which latter he had the literary charge during the last two years of its existence." But "blind Oblivion" seems to have "swallowed up" the *Ladies' Illustrated*.

The contribution of *Graham's Magazine* to American literary development was of two kinds: it showed that adequate and even liberal payment for contributions might actually be profitable, and

[32] Leland's *Memoirs*, *II*, 13.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

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raised the level of such payments materially by its influence; and it published some important work by the best American writers of the time. Its contents were designed to be amusing rather than profound: in its lighter essays we have the beginnings of what came to be "magazinish" writing in contradistinction to the dull and heavy review style all too prominent at that time. Finally, a magazine that could boast itself the sole repository of the work of Bryant, Longfellow, Cooper, and Paulding at the same time, had then and still has a real claim to respect.

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SOME VOWEL VARIATIONS IN CERTAIN OLD NORSE WORDS

By Albert Morey Sturtevant

In the following discussion an attempt will be made to determine the reason for the variation of certain vowels in a number of Old Norse words. There have been selected for discussion only such vowel variations as have not, in my opinion, heretofore either been correctly explained or received adequate treatment. Some of these vowel variations may be explained as due to the fact that we have to do with two different words (cf., e. g., no. 2, *dára-skapr* : *dáru-skapr*, and no. 7, *kisi* : *kausi*); but since these two different words have exactly the same meaning, they are treated under the heading of a single word with vowel variations.

1. *Af-ráð* : *-răð* : *-roð* : *-hroð* 'tax, tribute, injury, heavy loss, defeat, clearing out [of the enemy].'

Since we find the words *af-roð* : *af-hroð* in exactly the same sense as *af-ráð* (i. e., *gjalda af-ráð* = *af-roð* : *-hroð* 'to suffer, inflict heavy loss') we may assume with Fritzner[1] (*Ordbog*, sub *afroð*) that the forms *-roð* and *-hroð* are variant forms of *-ráð*. The ideas of 'inflicting heavy loss [on the enemy]' and of 'clearing out [the enemy]' are very closely related and evidently on this basis Fritzner concludes[2] that the forms *-roð* and *-hroð* were due to association with the *(h)ryðja* ('clear out') group; the first meaning of *af-hroð* Fritzner gives as *Bortryddelse*.

I think that Fritzner is right only so far as the initial *h* in *-hroð* is concerned. Since the form *-hroð* could not have developed directly from *-ráð*, it is quite likely that *-hroð* came into being after the form *-roð* had become established; i. e., *-roð* : *-hroð* after the pattern of *ryðja* : *hryðja*.

But could the form *-ráð* have become *-roð* by virtue of the fact

[1] "*Afroð* n. = *afráð*, *afhroð* (da *afroð*, *afhroð*, som om det var et af *hryðja*, *ryðja* afledet Ord, kun et misforstaaet *afráð*)."

[2] Cf. Fritzner *Ordbog*, sub *afhroð*: "Dette Ord eller *afroð* er vistnok kun et forvansket *afráð*, hvoraf det er opstaaet ved manglende Forstaaelse af dettes Betydning under dets Anvendelse i Udtryk som de her anførte."

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that the sense of *af-ráð gjalda* 'inflict heavy loss [on the enemy]' was closely akin to that of 'clearing out [the enemy]' and thereby an association became established between *-ráð* and *ryðja* 'clear out'? I do not think it probable that a long *a* should have become a short *o* through association in the meaning of the words in question. Rather we should conclude that this association was established only after the long *a* had become short *o*, which vowel belongs to the stem **ruð-* in *ryðja*.

I am, therefore, inclined to believe with Noreen (*Aisl. Gramm.*[4], § 151, 5) that the form *-roð* represents a phonetically correct form, due to the *u*-umlaut of *á*; i. e., *-*ráð-u* nom. acc. plur. > *-*rǫ́ð*[3] > *-rǒð* (*ó* > *ǒ* through weakening in the end syllable. (Cf. Noreen[4], *ibid.*); the vowel *ǒ* of this plural form being then transferred to the singular. Noreen does not state any reason why such a transference should have been made. One reason for this transference may have been because *af-roð* (plural) was used in a singular sense (i. e., pluralis tantum), cf. *af-roð* 'tax, tribute' with *lǫg* (plur.) 'law'.

This explanation of the form *af-roð* as phonetically correct, whereby contact with the (*h*) *ryðja* group became established, seems to me a far more plausible explanation of the vowel variation *á* : *ǒ* in the word under discussion than does Fritzner's explanation.

We may assume the vowel variations in our word to have occurred in the following manner:

1) *af-ráð* > *-rǎð* through weakening in the end syllable (cf. Noreen[4], § 151, 1).

2) *af-roð* < *-*rǫð* < *-*ráð-u* plur.; this *o* being transferred to the singular.

3) *af-hroð*, a by-form of *af-roð*, due to confusion with the (*h*)*ryðja* group.

It is evident then that, contrary to Fritzner, the form *af-ráð* never was confused with the (*h*)*ryðja* group but only the form *af-roð* > *af-hroð*.

[3] The form *rǫ́ð* with u-umlaut was generally replaced in the saga period by the unumlauted form *ráð*. This fact, however, does not militate against the assumption that the form *af-roð* goes back to an earlier [*af*]-**rǫ́ð*; *rǫ́ð* was the regular form in the earlier language. For the use of *ó* in place of *ǫ́* see Hugo Pipping, *Innledning till studiet av de nordiska språkens ljudlära*, p. 114, § 21.

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2. *Dára-skapr* : *dáru-skapr* 'mockery.'

The more common form is *dára-skapr* from *dára-* (gen. of *dári* 'fool') + *-skapr*, cf. *dára-samlegr* 'foolish.' Since the inflectional vowel *a* in the first member of a compound is never weakened to *u*, it is clear that in the form *dáru-skapr* we have to do not with a phonetic variation *dára-* > *dáru-* but with an *ôn*-stem **dáru-* 'foolish woman'; cf. *kon-u-fé*, *gǫt-u-þjófr*, *sǫg-u-bók*, etc.

Both *dári* (*an*-stem) 'a foolish man' and **dára* (*ôn*-stem) 'a foolish woman' are nomina agentis to the verb *dára* 'to mock, make a fool of.' In the earlier period of the language and in poetry, doublets of this nature were of frequent occurrence, but in the later prose period many of the feminine forms had already been superseded by their masculine counterparts. Thus, for instance, the doublet *vinr* : *vinna* 'friend' existed in the Elder Edda and in scaldic poetry, but in the saga prose, the feminine *vinna* was already replaced[4] by *vinkona* or by the masculine *vinr*. The doublet *granni* : *granna* 'neighbor' existed in the sagas, but the form *granna* was extremely rare; so likewise [*meðal*]-*fífla* 'foolish woman' (cf. *Grettiss.*, 75, 4, Boer's edition) alongside *fífl* neut. 'fool.'

It is not strange then if a feminine **dára*, parallel to the masculine *dári*, should have been lost as a simplex but preserved in the compound *dáru-skapr*. Many obsolete Germanic words were preserved in compounds (cf. OE. *heoru-* : OS. *heru-*, which existed as a simplex in Goth. *hairus* : ON. *hjǫrr*). Since the suffix *-skapr* denoted an abstract idea, the words *dára-skapr* ('making a fool of a man') and *dáru-skapr* ('making a fool of a woman') became synonymous (i. e., 'mockery') and the original difference in meaning as pertaining to the two sexes was lost sight of.

3. *Dvína* : *dvĭna* 'dwindle.'

Both these verbs belong to the weak conjugation (*ôn*-class), and at first blush one might be tempted to assume that these two verbal forms represent the same verb with a shortening or lengthening of the radical vowel. As a matter of fact, we have to do here with

[4] On this question in general compare W. Krause, "Die Frau in der Sprache der aisl. Familiengeschichten," Ergänzungsheft zu *I. F.*, N. 4, 1926; in regard to *vinna*, pp. 10, 110-111.

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two different verbs, one with long and the other with short radical vowel, due to ablaut relation.

The verb *dvína* was originally a strong verb of the first ablaut series (cf. OE. *dwînan* : *dwân*), which later went over into the weak conjugation (*ôn*-class).

The verb *dvĭna* (*dvena* with *a*-umlaut) belonged *primarily* to the *ôn*-class of the weak conjugation. This class is largely composed of denominative verbs with the weak grade of the vowel series. The short vowel *i* in *dvĭna* stands in the same ablaut relation to the long vowel *i* in *dvína*, as does the short *i* in *lĭfa* (*ôn*-class) 'to live' to the long *i* in *líf* 'life.'

In the same way may be explained the form *þrĭfa* (*ôn*-class) 'to seize' in relation to the form *þrífa* 'to seize,' which, however, still maintained its strong forms intact; so likewise *svĭna* (*ôn*-class) 'to disappear' over against the OHG. strong verb *swînan* 'to disappear.' Noreen[4] (§ 60) mentions an ON. verb *suína*, but I do not find this verb listed in any of the ON. dictionaries. At any rate, we may assume that such an ON. verb *svína* (strong) did exist at one time and that the weak verb *svĭna* stands in the same relation to *svína* as does, e. g., *dvĭna* to *dvína*.

The discussion of this question might seem superfluous were it not for the fact that no one, so far as I know, has called attention to this ablaut relation *i* : *ĭ* in ON. between strong and weak verb; cf., e. g., Noreen under the discussion of ablaut in his *Aisl. Gramm.*[4], § 165, and in his *Urgerm. Lautlehre*, § 25. In the latter reference he points out this ablaut relation between cognate verbs in the various Germanic dialects (cf. ON. *gína* (strong) : OHG. *gĭnôn*, OE. *gĭnian* 'to yawn') but gives no examples as confined to ON.

This ablaut relation occurred very frequently between the strong verb and the cognate substantive, as Noreen (*ibid.*) points out; cf. *skína* (strong 'to shine' : *skín* 'glitter, shining.' The *ôn*-class of weak verbs contains many denominative verbs, which fact may in certain cases explain the ablaut relation from the standpoint of the substantive in question; cf., e. g., *rífa* (strong) 'to tear' : *rĭfa* 'a tear, rent,' whence *rĭfa*, *rĭfaða* 'to sew [a tear], sew loosely together.' But in the cases discussed above (*dvína* : *dvĭna*, *þrífa* : *þrĭfa*, *svína* : *svĭna*) the *ôn*-verbs are evidently primary, or at least the substantives from which they may have been derived are no longer preserved.

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4. *Dýkr* : *dy̆kr* 'noise, crash.'

The form *dýkr* with long vowel is primary, derived from *dynkr* through assimilation of *-nk-* to *-kk-* with compensative vowel lengthening (cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm.*[4], § 299,1).

The form *dynkr* persisted alongside the phonetically correct form *dýkr* by reason of association with the synonymous word *dynr*.

The form *dykr* with short vowel, alongside *dýkr* with long vowel, may be explained as due to association with the synonymous words *dynkr* and *dynr*, both of which contain the short vowel *y*.

5. *Farra-* : *fjarra-fleinn* 'vagabond.'

The first element *farra-* of this compound represents the genitive form of *farri* 'vagabond,' lit. 'bullock,' from PG. **farza*(*n*); cf. OHG. *farro* : OE. *fearr* '*steer, bullock.*' The second element *-fleinn* signifies literally 'arrow, dart' and evidently merely emphasizes the idea of 'flying about' which is inherent in *farra-* 'rover, vagabond.'

In the *Alvíssmǫl*, 5, 3, we find the form *fjarra-fleina* 'vagabond,' acc. sing. masc. This compound is undoubtedly identical with the compound *faraa-fleinn*, whatever the correct form of *-fleina*[5] in this passage may have been. We must, therefore, assume that the form *fjarra-* represents a variant form of *farra-*. How then is the form *fjarra-* to be explained?

Perhaps it is not unreasonable to assume that the scribe, when he wrote this word, had in mind the adverbial form *fjarri*[6] 'far,' whence *fjarra-* instead of *farra-*. The idea of 'roaming afar' is inherent in the compound *farra-fleinn* 'one who roams afar' = 'vagabond.'

6. *Guf-* : *Gufu-* in Old Icelandic Place Names.

The compounds *Guf-á* : *Gufu-dalr, -fjǫrðr, -nes, -skálar* represent place names so called after (*Ketill*) *gufa* (fem. *ôn*-stem), see *Egilss.*, Chaps. 27, 21; 77, 2, 5, 14. All of these compounds are

[5] The form *fjarra-fleina* acc. sing. masc. would give us a nom. sing. form *fjarra-fleini*, but in spite of the fact that all the manuscripts read *-fleina* it is possible that a form *-flein* was intended here, which would give us a nom. sing. form *fjarra-fleinn* (= *-fleinn* of the prose form); cf. Gering's remarks on this word in his *Glossar zu den Liedern der Edda*[5], 1923.

[6] Cf. the form *fira-fleinn*, *Norges Gamle Love*, II, 154. The vowel *i* in *fira-* may possibly be due to a similar association with *firr* 'farther,' comparative form of *fjarri*. The form *fira-fleinn* may, on the other hand, represent merely a corrupted (i. e., wrongly spelled) *farra-fleinn*.

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regularly formed with *gufu-* (gen. of *gufa*) as the first member except *Guf-á.*

In regard to this form Finnur Jónsson in his edition of the *Egilss.* (*An. Bibliothek,* No. 3, 2nd Edition, 1924) says (footnote 26, p. 85): "*Guf-á,* eigentl. *Gufu-á,* so nach einem (Ketill) gufa genannt."

Since there is no phonetic law whereby the second *u* in the form **Gufu-á* could disappear, it is not clear why Jónsson assumes that the form *Guf-á* "really" (*eigentlich*) stands for *Guf-u-á.*

There seems to me no real reason for this assumption. On the other hand, there is nothing to prevent our assuming that in the form *Guf-á* (without declensional vowel) we simply have a case of the root form of the word constituting the first element of a compound. We have countless examples of such root forms over against the genitive form of the word, parallel to *Guf-á* : *Gufu-dalr*; I mention here only a few typical examples: *jarð-bann* : *jarðar-sonr* (cf. *jǫrð, ô-stem*); *brúð-bekkr* : *brúðar-bekkr* (cf. *brúðr, jô*-stem); *hand-bani* : *handar-gagn* (cf. *hǫnd,* cons. stem); *bryn-stakkr* : *brynjar-hringr* (cf. *brynja, jôn*-stem); *sag-orð* : *sǫgu-maðr* (cf. *saga, ôn*-stem), etc.

Furthermore, compounds denoting a person native to a certain locality often show the root form in the first element of the compound, whereas in the corresponding place name the declensional vowel is preserved; cf. *breið-firðingr* : *Breið-i-fjǫrdr; esp-hœlingr* : *Esp-i-hóll*; *ver-dœlr* : *Ver-a-dalr,* etc.

In the light of these facts just mentioned, it seems to me that there can be no doubt that the form *Guf-* in *Guf-á* represents the stem form of the word and not a variant of *Gufu-.* However, the question arises as to why in this particular compound the stem form was preferred over against the regular genitive form which appears elsewhere.

It will be noted that in the form *Guf-á* the second element (*-á*) begins with a vowel, whereas in all the other compounds under discussion the second element begins with a consonant (cf. *Gufu-dalr, -fjǫrðr, -nes, -skálar*). It is possible that the form *Guf-á* was preferred over a form **Gufu-á* because of the tendency to avoid the juxtaposition of the two vowels[1] *u* + *á.* A combination

[1] The declensional vowel *u* in **Gufu-á* could not pass over into the semi-

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u + *á* (in which the *u* is kept as a pure vowel) was no doubt difficult to pronounce; hence the stem form *Guf-* was here preferred over *Gufu-* (the regular gen. form occurring before a consonant, as in *Gufu-dalr,* etc.), especially since the pattern for such a stem form over against the form with declensional vowel was, as shown above, already at hand. In support of this contention compare, e. g., *sag-ord* : *sǫgu-maðr* with *Guf-á* : *Gufu-dalr.* However, the combination *u* + a vowel in such compounds was not always avoided, as the form, e. g., *sǫgu-efni* shows. But I think it reasonable to assume that such a combination was avoided in case it offended the ear.

7. *Kisi*: *kausi* 'kitty, pussy.'

In the forms *kisi* : *kausi* we have an interesting example of ablaut relation (*i* : *au*). This ablaut relation had its origin, I believe, in the fact that these pet names for 'cat' were derived from the sound used in calling the animal. We have, for instance, *kis* as the call to a cat, from which is derived the diminutive pet name *kis-i* (cf. also *kus-si* 'calf' : *kus-sa* 'bossy' from *kus,* the call to a cow).

Now, calls show vowel variation, i. e., secondary ablaut (cf. Eng. *holla, halloo*), just as do onomatopoetic exclamations indicative of sound (cf. Eng. *bing* : *bang, pitter* : *patter,* Mod. Norw. *snik* : *snak,* etc.), and hence the doublet *kis* : *kus* as a call to pet animals. The form *kaus-i* 'kitty' over against *kis-i* 'kitty' indicates the tendency to vary the root-vowel in words used primarily as exclamations. That *kis* and *kus* are not shortened forms of respectively *kis-i* : *kis-a* and *kus-sa* is shown by the fact that neither *kis*[8] nor *kus* has any cognates in the other Germanic languages.

8. *Minjar* : *menjar* 'remembrances, memorials.'

The form *minjar* is connected with *minni* = Goth. [*ga*]-*minþi* 'remembrance.'

consonant *ų* by reason of a shifting of the syllable division (i. e., **Gufu-á* > **Guf-ųá*) because association with the individual words would preserve the two elements as distinct component parts.

[8] ON. *kisi* is not cognate with Eng. *kitten,* Germ. *Kitze* < PG. **kittin.* In English the vowel variation characteristic of pet names used in calling animals is already at hand in "kitty, cat," which affords a parallel to ON. *kisi* : *kausi,* although in English the vowel variation is due to purely phonetic causes.

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The form *menjar* is found only in the later texts of the sagas and is obviously a later variant of *minjar,* due to association with the word *men* : *menjar* 'necklace, precious ornament.' That which was given to a friend 'in remembrance' (*til minja*) was usually some precious object; cf. *minja-gripr* 'an heirloom, a *precious object* kept in memory of a person,' later *menja-gripr* as if from *menja-* 'precious objects,' gen. plur.

9. *Rísuligr* : *rĭsuligr* 'lofty, high, tall.'

The form *rísuligr* with long radical *i* is primary, from the stem *rís-,* as in *rísa* 'to rise.'

The variant form *rĭsuligr* with short radical *i* is due to association with the noun *rĭsi* 'giant' (< **wrĭs-an-,* cf. OHG. *rĭsi,* OS. *wrĭsilîc*).

This association was due to both formal and semantic similarity; the two stems *rís-* and *rĭs-* differed formally only in the length of the vowel *i,* and both denoted an idea in common, viz., 'large, huge'; cf. *rísuligr* 'tall' (as applied to man) and *rĭsaligr* 'gigantic,' and hence also *rĭsuligr*[9] (with short radical *i*) 'tall, stately.'

10. *Rŷgr* : *rýgr* 'housewife, mighty woman, giantess.'

It is not certain which of these two forms is primary. The origin of this word is unknown, and the word appears with both short and long vowel. Cleasby-Vigfússon and Fritzner give the word with short vowel, while Möbius and Egilsson (*Lex. Poet.*) give the word with long vowel. It appears fairly certain, however, that the word in scaldic poetry always occurred with long vowel, while in prose the length of the vowel varied. The word does not occur in the Elder Edda.

I have reason to believe that the form *rŷgr* with short vowel is primary and that the form *rýgr* with long vowel is secondary, due to association with the word *gýgr* 'witch, giantess.'

In prose the word *rygr* 'housewife' is a thoroughly meritorious and dignified term; cf. Snorri's definition "rygr heitir sú kona, er ríkust er" (*Edda,* 108).

[9] Cf. the same confusion between these two stems in Low German. MLG. *rese,* M. Dutch *reze* 'giant' < **wris-an-* have lost the initial *w,* perhaps due to association with the stem **rís-*; cf. Falk-Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Etym. Wtb.* II, p. 903, sub *rise.*

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On the other hand, in scaldic poetry (where the long vowel always appears, i. e., *rýgr*), the word has acquired a sense akin to *gýgr*, i. e., 'a mighty, powerful woman' and in one passage (*Þul.* IV, 5) it is used apparently synonymously with *gýgr*, i. e., 'witch, giantess' (cf. Egilsson, *Lex. Poet.* sub *rýgr*).

This semantic variation of the word in scaldic poetry from the prose word, together with the long vowel *y*, indicates that in scaldic poetry (which was often written in a derogatory tone, *níð-vísa*) the word *rygr* had been influenced in form (through the lengthening of the vowel) and in meaning (through the derogatory sense here attached to woman[10]) by the word *gýgr* 'witch, giantess.' The two words *rygr* and *gýgr* were, aside from the quantity of the vowel *y*, perfect rime words, and both served as a designation for woman.

The fact that in prose the word *rygr* appears with both long and short vowel indicates that the scaldic form existed alongside the primary form but without any change of meaning. The derogatory sense of the word *rýgr* (with long vowel), characteristic of scaldic poetry, was never attached to the word in prose.

This explanation of the short and long vowel in *rygr* : *rýgr* seems to me the only plausible one. If, on the other hand, we assume that the vowel was originally long, there is apparently no explanation at hand for the development of the short vowel.

[10] A characteristic example of this may be seen in the *Kristnis.* 2, 12:

alden rýgr við skalde
(þá kreppe goþ gyþjo)
gall of heiþnom stalla

"The *old woman* [Friðgerðr] shrieked wildly over the heathen altar to the poet."

B. Kahle in his edition of this saga (*An. Bibliothek.* No. 11) says (p. 9) in regard to the phrase *alden rýgr:* "Rýgr, bezeichnung einer riesin, hier verächtlicher ausdruck für eine frau, die Friðgerðr."

It would appear from this statement that Kahle believes the primary sense of *rýgr* to be 'giantess,' which was then secondarily applied to woman in a derogatory sense. As has been shown above, the sense of 'giantess' was most probably secondary, being derived from that of 'mighty woman.' Egilsson cites (*Lex. Poet.*, sub *rýgr*) this very passage as an example of the primary sense (i. e., *mægtig kvinde*) of the word in scaldic poetry. Egilsson's citation is from the *þáttr orvalds Ens Víðfǫrla*, where the same verses are preserved as in the *Kristnis.*

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11. *Oskrliga* : *ǫskurliga* 'hideously, madly.'

The form *ǫskrliga* is primary, formed from the noun *ǫskr* neut. 'roaring' + *liga* (adj. *ǫskr-ligr*).

The form *ǫsk-u-rliga* (adj. *ǫsk-u-rligr*) shows a svarabhakti vowel *u* before *r* + *l*. Svarabhakti *u* before *r* became quite generally established in Icelandic about the year 1400 (cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm.*[4], § 161, a), but these forms in question occur over a century before that time, i. e., in the *Flateyjarbók* (I, 417; II, 26) and in the *Eyrbyggjas.*[11]

We may consider that the forms *ǫskurliga* : *ǫskurligr* illustrate the beginning of the tendency for svarabhakti *u* to develop before *r*. Regarding this tendency Noreen (*ibid.*) says[12] that traces of the same can be detected even before the year 1300, i. e., during the classic prose period to which the *Flateyjarbók* and the *Eyrbyggjas* belong.

However, it should be noted that in the forms *ǫskurliga* : *ǫskurligr* svarabhakti *u* has developed before *r* + another consonant and not before a single *r*, as was later the case. We have, for instance, the form *ǫskran-ligr* 'frightful,' formed from *ǫskran* fem. 'fright' + *ligr*, but never **ǫskuranligr* with svarabhakti *u* before the single *r*. Not even association with the form *ǫskurligr* 'hideous, frightful,' with which *ǫskranligr* is practically synonymous, caused a svarabhakti vowel to develop before a single *r* in *ǫskranligr*.

The forms *ǫsk(u)rligr* : *ǫskranligr* show evidence to the effect that svarabhakti *u* in Old Icelandic developed first before *r* + another consonant and only later before a single *r*.

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[11] Cf. 63, 26 "ok lét *ǫskurliga*," "and acted madly."

[12] "Im aisl. ist der svarabhaktivokal *u*, von dem spuren schon vor 1300 sich zeigen, . . . "

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PERSONAL APPEARANCE IN THE BIOGRAPHY OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS[1]

By H. V. Canter

Descriptions of personal appearance constitute a typical feature of ancient and, not infrequently, of modern biography. Neglecting the evidence from busts, coins, medals, paintings, etc. (for which see the well known work of Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*), examination was recently made of all readily available ancient literary sources, to see what they reveal as to the personal appearance of the Roman emperors. Included in the study were statements bearing on origin, training, age, physical exercises, habits, ailments, illness, and dress, in so far as these give evidence of the physical person.

The investigation was limited to emperors legitimately clothed with the purple, by whatever authority, no account being taken of those who were mere claimants for power, or of those who, although raised to the emperorship, were never securely established upon the throne. By further limitation there were excluded from consideration a few of the later and relatively unimportant emperors, most of whom exercised authority but a short time, such as Pertinax, Didius Julianus, Gordianus I, Gordianus II, Pupienus, Balbinus, Decius, Gallus, Aemilianus, Valerian, Quintillus, Tacitus, Carus, Carinus, Numerian, Constantine II, Constans, and Valentinian II; also the thirteen or more phantom emperors who flit across the stage in the twenty years or so that follow the death in A. D. 455 of Valentinian III, emperors who were not the true rulers even of Italy.

Below are to be found, together with citation of sources on which based, succinct statements (usually of composite character) of descriptions of the emperors given by writers, either incidentally or as a clearly planned feature of a biographical sketch. Rejected as unreliable at best, and in some cases as wholly fanciful, are statements of personal appearance occasionally found in the histories

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of writers of the Byzantine period, as Ioannes Malalas (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* XCVII), and Georgius Cedrenus (edit. by Bekker, Bonn, 1839).

JULIUS CAESAR. Tall, handsome, round limbed, somewhat slender; fair of complexion, with bloom of youth as if of divine inheritance; skin soft and white; eyes dark and vivacious; mouth (face ?) somewhat full; expression kindly. Later in life pale, thin, and bald, and because sensitive about his baldness dressed his hair forward from the crown of the head, and invariably wore the laurel crown. In care of person and in dress, fastidious—kept hair closely cut, face smoothly shaved, and removed the hair from other parts of the body; wore the *tunica laticlavia* with fringe about the sleeves, and always with a girdle. Suffered from headaches and convulsions, but was strong of body, his health and physical strength being sufficiently robust for him to endure numerous hardships and exertions as a warrior.[2]

AUGUSTUS. Notably handsome in entire person and graceful through every period of his life; eyes bluish gray, very large, and so bright and piercing that there appeared to be a divine vigor in them, and people who looked at them intently lowered their gaze as if the sun shone in their own eyes; in advanced age sight of left eye imperfect; stature below average, but fine proportion and symmetry of figure made lack of height noticeable only by comparison; countenance, when speaking or silent, calm and serene; complexion between swarthy and fair; hair somewhat curly and of shade approaching golden; eyebrows grown together; ears of medium size; nose aquiline; teeth widely set, small, and rough; on the body numerous birthmarks and callous places resembling eczema; somewhat lame from weakness in hip, thigh, and left leg; forefinger of right hand at times so weak that to use it in writing he employed a fingerstall of horn. Indifferent as to personal adornment and in care of hair; beard sometimes clipped, sometimes shaved; face usually clean shaven, but wore beard as sign of mourning after his uncle's death. Subject to sickness at stated times

[2] Suet., *Iul.*, 45; 51; 57; 64; Cic., *Brutus*, 75; Vell., 2, 41, 1; Plut., *Caes.*, 4; 17; Appian, *B. C.*, 2, 90; 2, 110; 2, 150; 2, 151; Dio Cass., 42, 40; 43, 43; 44, 38; Julian, *Caesars*, 309; Auct. *Bell. Alex.*, 21, 2; Macrob., *Sat.*, 2, 3, 9. See also Deutsch, "Concerning Caesar's Appearance," *Class. Journ.*, XII (1917), pp. 247-253.

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every year, and constitution so impaired that he could not easily bear either heat or cold.[3]

TIBERIUS. Large, robust, and in good health during almost his entire reign; height somewhat above average; broad of shoulders and chest, and evenly proportioned in all other members of the body; left hand used more readily and with greater force than right, and joints of fingers very strong; face handsome but often, especially in later years, full of pimples and sores; eyes large and possessing the rare power of seeing at night and in the dark, but of seeing poorly by day; complexion fair; hair full and worn so long behind as to cover the neck; bald in later life. Walked with confirmed stoop, generally with stern expression of grave dignity on his face; spoke slowly to those about him and with a sort of supple movement of the fingers.[4]

CALIGULA. Tall, illproportioned, an object of derision; neck and legs very thin; feet enormous; head misshapen, eyes and temples sunken; hair thin, with crown of head bald; hair and beard worn long for a time after death of his sister; neck covered with bristles and rest of the body hairy; color exceedingly pale; countenance naturally frightful and hideous rendered more so by grimaces intended to inspire horror and fright; eyes staring and with a glare savage enough to torture. In boyhood subject to epilepsy, and in manhood sound neither in body nor mind; had fainting spells at times which made him incapable of any effort. Eccentric in dress—often seen in traveling cloak embroidered and begemmed; again wore tunic with long sleeves, and bracelets on his arms; at times personified Venus in dress, or wore silk robes and slippers or buskins used by women; commonly dressed with triumphal ornaments; sometimes wore a mask in form of a golden beard, and held thunderbolt, trident, or wand.[5]

CLAUDIUS. Tall, but not slender, with pleasing expression and becoming white hair; neck thick set; appearance stately and

[3] Suet., *Aug.*, 79-81; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 1, 20; Dio Cass., 48, 34; Tac., *Ann.*, 1, 42; Plin., *N. H.*, 7, 59; 11, 54; Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 680; Julian, *Caesars*, 309.

[4] Suet., *Tib.*, 68; Vell., 2, 94; 2, 97; Tac., *Ann.*, 4, 57; Plin., *N. H.*, 11, 54; Dio Cass., 57, 2; 58, 19; Julian, *Caesars*, 309 C.

[5] Suet., *Calig.*, 24; 50; 52; Sen., *De Const. Sap.*, 18, 1; *De Ira*, 3, 19; Plin., *N. H.*, 11, 54.

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graceful, but only when standing, sitting or sleeping; when walking he was clumsy, dragged his right foot, and gave way in the knees; was marred by other traits also, whether he attempted to be cheerful or serious; was unseemly in laughter, disgusting in anger, when he foamed at the mouth and trickled at the nose; in speech stammering and harsh; hand trembled and head shook with tremulous motion when under any exertion; eyes at corners bloodshot. Health so precarious during childhood and early manhood that both mind and body were impaired, but generally in good health after he became emperor.[6]

NERO. Stature a little below average; face agreeable rather than attractive; skin freckled and repulsive; hair fair; eyes gray and dull; shortsighted and wont to contract brows, in order to recognize near objects the better; neck thick; legs slender; abdomen prominent. Health good. In dress and care of person unconventional; wore hair long and arranged in tiers of curls, and, when traveling in Greece, even hanging down behind; wore beard until twenty-two; generally appeared in public with handkerchief tied about his neck, and without girdle or shoes.[7]

GALBA. Old, feeble, and forbidding in appearance; average in stature but bowed with age and disease; face and forehead wrinkled, head bald; eyes blue; nose aquiline; feet and hands so crippled by gout that he could not wear a shoe or turn the leaves of a book; had an excrescence on right side so large that it could scarcely be held up by bandage.[8]

OTHO. Low of stature; ill set on his feet and bowlegged; bald, but wore a covering so fitted to his head that no one could have recognized it as such; had almost effeminate taste for elegance of appearance; rubbed his face with moistened bread to prevent having a beard, or shaved often; removed the hair from his body. Clad in linen garments he publicly celebrated the rites of Isis.[9]

[6] Suet., *Claud.*, 2-4; 30-31; Dio Cass., 60, 2; Plin., *N. H.*, 11, 54; Juv., 6, 622; Sen., *Apocol.*, 5-7; Joseph., *Antiq. Iud.*, 19, 222.

[7] Suet., *Nero*, 12; 51; Dio Cass., 61, 19; Sen., *Apocol.*, 4; Plin., *N. H.*, 11, 54.

[8] Suet., *Galba*, 20, 2; 21; Plut., *Galba*, 13; Tac., *Hist.*, 1, 7; Dio Cass., 64, 3.

[9] Suet., *Otho*, 12; Tac., *Hist.*, 1, 30; *Ann.*, 13, 12; Mart., 6, 32; Juv., 2, 99; Auson., *De XII Caes. Monost.*, 8.

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VITELLIUS. Marked defects of person, for which the mob reproached him at his death; abnormally tall; face red from drunkenness; huge abdomen of the glutton; one thigh weak, caused by being struck by a chariot.[10]

VESPASIAN. Humble in birth, and of homely, soldierly appearance; in stature short, square built, strong limbed; face wore look of one undergoing strain; head bald; suffered from gout, but health otherwise excellent, preserved in part by massage of neck and other part of the body, and by fasting one day each month.[11]

TITUS. Attractive qualities of body and mind apparent in childhood became more conspicious with added years; in person combined equally majesty and grace; body not tall, but very strong; neck thick; abdomen somewhat prominent; physical strength sufficient for most arts of war and peace; highly skilled in management of arms and horses.[12]

DOMITIAN. In stature tall; face modest and with tendency to blush, of which he was vain; eyes large, but not sharp-sighted; overhanging eyebrows, handsome, graceful and shapely in whole person, except that his toes were somewhat too short; later disfigured by baldness, corpulency, and slenderness of limbs, the latter occasioned by long illness; in later years exhibited pallor of body, bloated cheeks, and a haughty, savage, terror-inspiring, shameless countenance. Shrank from exertion, seldom walked or rode horseback, was generally carried in a litter; had no inclination for exercise of arms, but was especially expert in use of the bow.[13]

NERVA. Grayhaired, old, weak and ill when he became emperor; well born and worthy, but incapacitated by physical condition for

[10] Suet., *Vitell.*, 13; 17; Tac., *Hist.*, 2, 62; 2, 95; Plut., *Otho*, 9; Dio Cass., 65, 2; 65, 20.

[11] Suet., *Vesp.*, 1-2; 20; Dio Cass., 66, 17.

[12] Suet., *Titus*, 1; 3; Tac., *Hist.*, 2, 1; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 10, 2; Eutrop., 7, 21; Dio Cass., 66, 15; Philostr., *Life of Apoll.*, 6, 30, 125 (Kayser).

[13] Suet., *Domit.*, 18-19; Tac., *Hist.*, 4, 40; *Agr.*, 45; Plin., *Paneg.*, 48, 4; 53, 4; Juv., 4, 38; Auson., *De XII Caes. Monost.*, 11-12; Philostr., *Life of Apoll.*, 7, 28, 144.

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difficult undertakings, his weakened condition being reflected in the lack of activity and energy which mark his reign.[14]

TRAJAN. Tall, firm and strong in body; features clear cut; complexion fresh with glow of health; eyes large; face and countenance dignified; majestic looking gray hair; carriage stately; mode of life thoroughly military—trudged on foot with army.[15]

HADRIAN. In stature tall and well built; physically strong—rode and walked a great deal, covering his head neither in heat nor cold, and exercised with arms and javelin; devoted to hunting, and could strike down boar or lion; fastidious in personal appearance; hair curled on a comb; beard worn full to cover blemishes of the face; a changeable, restless personality, who in later life became consumptive and dropsical.[16]

ANTONINUS PIUS. Tall and well built; limbs slender though strong; striking personality—face handsome, countenance aristocratic and calm by nature; later bent by age and therefore swathed with splints bound on chest, so as to walk erect; feeble when old.[17]

MARCUS AURELIUS. In early age slender in build but strong; engaged in boxing, ball playing, wrestling, running, and bowling; fought in armor and struck down wild boars from horseback; ardor for philosophy took him from these pursuits and made him serious and austere, although from early life his countenance showed tranquillity unchanged by joy or sorrow. Careless of personal appearance—wore dark clothing after made a Caesar, when not in his father's company; dress uniformly plain and sober in later days; beard full and flowing; studious application left its effect in expression of eyes and furrowed brow, in a body sickly, weak, and frail, so much so that he took little food.[18]

[14] Dio Cass., 68, 1; 3-4; Eutrop., 8, 1, 1; Oros., 7, 11, 1; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 12, 6; Philostr., *Life of Apoll.*, 8, 7, 160.

[15] Dio Cass., 68, 6; 23; 31; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 48, 8; Plin., *Paneg.*, 4; 22; 81.

[16] Spart., *Vita*, 2, 1; 2, 6; 10, 4; 14, 10-11; 17, 9; 20, 13; 23, 1; 26, 1-3; Dio Cass. 68, 15; 69, 7; 69, 9-10; 69, 23; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 14, 1; Julian, *Caesars*, 311 D.

[17] Capitol., *Vita*, 2, 1; 13, 1-2; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 15, 4-5.

[18] Capitol., *Vita*, 2, 1; 4, 9-10; Dio Cass., 71, 1; 72, 6; 72, 24; 72, 34-35; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 16, 7; Julian, *Caesars*, 317 C; Fronto., p. 68 (Naber).

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COMMODUS. In beauty of person and bloom of manhood excelled his agefellows; body well proportioned; features clear cut and attractive; expression affable but dull, as usual in drunkards; hair naturally blond and curly, and in sunlight as lustrous as if sprinkled with gold dust, or as if reflecting a divine splendor; cheeks covered with tender down; hair of face and head singed because he feared barbers; physically strong enough to engage in gladiatorial combats, to fight with wild beasts, to drive in chariot races, and to be flattered as the Roman Hercules; afflicted, however, with hernia so that it appeared through his silken robes. Indifferent to the proprieties of dress—sat in theater or amphitheater in a woman's garments; or in tunic of silk with golden threads; or in garb of Mercury—simple tunic and unshod; at gladiatorial shows covered his bare shoulders with a purple cloth, or was dressed in funeral cloak; at times shaved his head and carried a statue of Anubis, Egyptian tutelary deity of the chase.[19]

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS. Large, strong, and handsome; stern by nature, but countenance such as to inspire respect; hair gray and curly; beard long; frugal and sparing in diet; in later life weak from gout. Dress was of the plainest—tunic with scarcely any purple on it and shaggy cloak.[20]

GETA. In person strong and handsome; more gentle in appearance and manner than Caracalla; had zeal for serious pursuits and bodily exercises; spoke in stammering though melodious voice; inclined to gluttony and addicted to wine. Wore the brightest of clothing.[21]

CARACALLA. In childhood a genial and winsome personality; later reserved, stern, and bold in countenance; wrinkled his brow, assumed a threatening expression, and bent head and neck to the left in fancied resemblance to Alexander the Great, whom he tried to imitate in look, gait, and dress; hair curly and thin, approaching

[19] Lampr., *Vita*, 5, 5; 8, 5; 8, 8; 9, 2; 9, 4; 9, 6; 11, 10-12; 12, 10-12; 13, 1-4; 15, 3; 15, 8; 17, 3; Dio Cass., 73, 10; 73, 15; 73, 17; 73, 18-21; Herod., 1, 7, 5; 1 17, 12.

[20] Spart., *Vita*, 16, 7; 19, 7-9; 23, 3; Spart., *Carac.*, 11, 3; Herod., 3, 14, 2; Eutrop., 8, 18, 4; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 20, 9.

[21] Spart., *Vita*, 4, 1; 5, 2; Herod., 3, 13, 6; 4, 3, 2-3; Aurel. Vict., *Liber de Caes.*, 20, 32.

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baldness; beard shaved while in the East; in stature small and not imposing, though strong enough to hunt wild boars and lions; inured to physical toil from youth; favorite exercises were driving chariots, killing wild beasts, and gladiatorial contests; gluttonous and addicted to wine. Capricious in dress—took his name from long Gallic mantle; appeared at times in clothing worn by Macedonians and Germans.[22]

MACRINUS. Born of humble parentage, a Moor by race; left ear bored in token of servile origin; shameless in countenance, rigid and stern in action; head bald, face bearded; gluttonous and fond of wine; sought a venerable appearance in superficial ways by imitating Marcus Aurelius in hesitating speech, slow majestic gait, and in manner of trimming beard. In dress extravagant and gaudy—appeared in public adorned with robes held by girdles and by clasps set with gold and precious stones.[23]

ELEGABALUS. Son of a depraved mother; features like those of Caracalla; noted for beauty and imposing physique; so handsome in bloom of youth and when dressed as a priest of the Syrian sun-god that he was compared to youthful Bacchus; but covered his naturally bright face with cosmetics and wore a diadem set with jewels, that his face might look like a woman's; sometimes wore a hairnet, painted his eyes, and went with smooth face. Wore tunics wholly of cloth of gold or made of purple, or Persian tunics studded with jewels; sometimes his tunics resembled those of men of early republic; was the first Roman to wear clothing wholly of silk. Wore jewels on his shoes and never the same shoes twice.[24]

ALEXANDER SEVERUS. Naturally mild and gentle in character and appearance; personality one of grace and manly beauty; eyes very brilliant and of penetrating gaze; physically strong with height and vigor of a soldier who knows his strength and maintains it; devoted to physical exercises and a wrestler of first rank;

[22] Spart., *Vita*, 1, 3; 2, 1-2; 5, 9; 9, 3; Herod., 4, 7, 2; 4, 8, 1-3; 4, 8, 5; 4, 9, 3; Dio Cass., 77, 7-8; 77, 10-11; 77, 17; 77, 19; 78, 3; 78, 9; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 21, 4; Aurel. Vict., *Liber de Caes.*, 21, 1.

[23] Capitol., *Vita*, 2, 1; 4, 1-6; 5, 6; 11, 1; 13, 4; 14, 2; Herod., 5, 2, 3-4; Dio Cass., 78, 11.

[24] Capitol., *Macr.*, 7, 6; 9, 3; Lampr., *Vita*, 2, 1-2; 18, 3; 26, 1-2; 32, 1; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 23, 1; Herod., 5, 3, 7; 5, 4, 4; 5, 6, 10.

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suffered from cold, hence wore woolen or linen bands about his legs. Dressed plainly—removed all jewels from clothing and footwear, dressed in plain white robes without gold ornaments, and reintroduced rough cloaks and tunics without purple stripes.[25]

MAXIMINUS. Of Thracian peasant parentage; in youth a herdsman, and leader of a band to waylay marauders; his strikingly huge stature and feats of strength won him a place in Septimius Severus' army; body preeminent in height, size, and proportions—extraordinary accounts given of his feats of strength, eating, drinking, etc.; eyes of great size; uncouth in manners, haughty and cruel in behavior.[26]

GORDIANUS III. Thirteen or fourteen years of age when made emperor; handsome and winsome in appearance; agreeable in manners, a favorite of soldiers and senate, and in nothing save age unqualified to be emperor.[27]

PHILIPPUS. Native of Bostra in Arabia, of low birth, arrogant, and insolent; said to have been the son of a robber chieftain. No further direct description of personal appearance at hand.[28]

GALLIENUS. For the most part a reveler given to effeminate habits and sensual pleasures. Vain in dress—powdered his hair, appeared in public with a halo upon his head, and wore clothes adorned with precious stones.[29]

CLAUDIUS II. Of obscure Illyrian family, but a man of ability and character; frugal, modest, capable of toil, fit intellectually and physically to be emperor; tall of stature; lustrous eyes and broad, full face; fingers so strong that he could knock out a horse's teeth with his fist.[30]

[25] Lampr., *Vita*, 4, 1-4; 14, 6; 27, 10; 30, 4; 33, 4; 40, 7-11; Herod., 6, 1, 6.

[26] Capitol., *Maximini Duo*, 2-4, 3; 6, 5-9; 28, 8; Herod., 6, 8, 1; 7, 1, 12; Zosimus, 1, 13, 3.

[27] Capitol., *Gord. Tres.*, 22, 2; 31, 4-6; *Max. et Balb.*, 3, 4; Herod., 8, 8, 8.

[28] Capitol., *Gord. Tres.*, 29, 1; 30; Zosimus, 1, 18, 3-19, 1; Zonar., 12, 18-19; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 28, 4.

[29] Treb. Poll., *Gall. Duo*, 16-17; Aurel. Vict., *Liber de Caes.*, 33, 6; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 33, 1.

[30] Treb. Poll., *Vita*, 13, 5-6; Eutrop., 9, 11; Aurel. Vict., *Liber de Caes.*, 34, 1.

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AURELIAN. Born in humble station; a soldier of great personal bravery, spirited, and inclined to be cruel; handsome, and conspicious for manly grace; hair half gray; stature tall, physical strength notable, and well preserved by daily exercise with horses and by use of javelin and bow; good health—never employed a physician, but fasted when ailing. In dress Oriental, the first emperor regularly to wear the diadem and clothing ornamented with gems and gold.[31]

PROBUS. Son of a Dalmatian peasant; great physical strength won him a tribuneship in the army; a brave soldier and general; in manner spirited, energetic, affable.[32]

DIOCLETIAN. A Dalmatian of obscure birth, the son of a freedman, and a soldier by profession; majestic looking, with facial expression that concealed his thoughts and designs; manner calm but mind alert. Ceremonious in dress—wore gorgeous robes of silk and purple, and footwear adorned with gold; made himself an oriental monarch, and allowed himself to be saluted with low protestations as a divine being.[33]

MAXIMIAN. An Illyrian of low birth; ignorant, rustic and barbaric in appearance and manners; harshness and ferocity seen in his very features, for which reason he was called "father of the iron age." Took the cognomen Herculius from assumed origin from Hercules, or from motive of pride in his own brutal and invincible strength.[34]

CONSTANTIUS I. A native of Illyricum of good extraction, tracing his line back to Claudius II; a brave, skilled, and active general, and a wise statesman; well educated and of winning personality; praised for affability, mildness, modesty, and kindness. Of pale complexion, hence the cognomen Chlorus, particularly since Byzantine period.[35]

[31] Flav. Vop., *Vita*, 3, 1; 4, 1; 6, 1; 12, 1; 15, 2; 49, 2; 50, 1; Eutrop., 9, 13; 14, 1; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 35, 5; Zosimus, 1, 51, 1.

[32] Flav. Vop., *Vita*, 3, 5; Eutrop., 17; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 37, 1.

[33] Eutrop., 9, 19; 9, 26; Flav. Vop., *Numer.*, 13, 1; Aurel. Vict., *Liber de Caes.*, 39, 2-4; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 39, 1.

[34] Eutrop., 9, 27; 10, 3; Lampr., *Elegab.*, 35, 4; Aurel. Vict., *Liber de Caes.*, 39, 18; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 40, 10.

[35] Aurel. Vict., *Liber de Caes.*, 39, 26; Eutrop., 9, 22; 10, 1; Zonar., 12, 31B; Julian, *Orat.*, 1, 6D; 2, 51C; Treb. Poll., *Claud.*, 10, 7; 13, 2;

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GALERIUS. Son of a Dacian herdsman, hence the cognomen Armentarius; in stature tall, with flesh full and bloated; stately in physical appearance, but forbidding in look; a distinguished warrior, rough, energetic, haughty, with no appreciation of education or higher culture.[36]

LICINIUS. Sprung from the agricultural class of Dacia; a rude, uneducated soldier with no sense of gratitude or humanity; haughty, greedy, cruel, hostile to learning and culture.[37]

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. Many excellencies of mind and body; few men comparable to him in beauty and majesty of person; in strength and vigor of body so far surpassed his agefellows as to inspire them with fear; lofty stature, graceful deportment, and stately mien gave him the appearance of a messenger of the gods; vigor of constitution preserved by riding and running, and by the domestic virtues of chastity and temperance; complexion ruddy, eyes slightly drooping; bore the cognomen Trachala, probably in allusion to his thick-set neck. Clothing ornamented with gems, and the diadem regularly worn.[38]

CONSTANTIUS II. Low of stature; from waist to neck rather long, legs very short and crooked; body strong, firm and capable of enduring toil; health preserved by riding, throwing the javelin, using the bow, and practicing military exercises, as well as by moderation in eating and drinking; complexion dark; eyes large and keen-sighted; hair soft, cheeks carefully shaven, smooth and healthy looking.[39]

JULIAN. Medium in stature and well proportioned from head to foot, which made him strong and a good runner; neck thick and slightly bulging; shoulders large, broad, and thrust backward;

Gall. Duo, 7, 1; 14, 1; Flav. Vop., *Aurel.*, 44, 5; Lampr., *Elegab.*, 35, 2; Lact., *De Mort.*, 8, 7.

[36] Aurel. Vict., *Liber de Caes.*, 39, 24-28; Auct. *Epit. de Caes.*, 40, 15-17; Eutrop., 9, 22; 10, 2; Lact., *De Mort.*, 9, 2-4.

[37] Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 41, 8-10; Eutrop., 10, 4.

[38] Eutrop., 10, 7-8; Auct. *Epit. de Caes.*, 41, 14-16; Euseb., *Life of Const.*, 1, 19; 3, 10; 4, 53.

[39] Amm. Marc., 16, 10, 10; 21, 16, 5-7; 21, 16, 19; Aurel. Vict., *Liber de Caes.*, 42, 43; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 42, 18-19; Julian, *Orat.*, 1, 10D-11C; 2, 53C; Themist., *Orat.*, 13, p. 165C (edit. Paris, 1684).

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ridiculed at Antioch for spreading his shoulders and taking huge, clumsy strides; head set back and unsteady; face comely and calm in expression; nose straight and expressive of haughtiness and contempt; mouth rather large, and lower lip drooping; eyes beautiful, brilliant, unsteady, and sweeping in their gaze; becoming eyebrows; hair soft and looked as if carefully dressed [Julian himself speaks of his locks as unkempt]; beard shaggy, long and ending in a point. Wore either a crown or a splendid diadem inlaid with precious gems.[40]

JOVIAN. A Pannonian and a popular officer of the guard; in habits a reveler and little fitted to rule; in person striking; body straight and so tall that it was difficult to find royal robes to fit him; blue eyes and cheerful expression. Wore the diadem like an eastern monarch.[41]

VALENTINIAN I. Stately in appearance; body muscular and strong; fair and radiant complexion; eyes blue in color, looking askance and stern; beauty of figure and harmony of features corresponded to dignity of person which should attend a monarch.[42]

VALENS. Compared ill with his brother Valentinian I in appearance, energy, and military skill; dilatory and sluggish in action; reddish complexion; had a slight cast in one eye; limbs well shaped except that knees curved inward; in stature neither tall nor short; abdomen somewhat prominent.[43]

GRATIAN. Body well proportioned, supple, and improved by constant physical exercises; was given to pleasures of the chase and practiced running, wrestling, leaping; eyes brilliant and kindly in expression; face handsome and pleasing.[44]

[40] Amm. Marc., 21, 1, 4; 22, 14, 3; 25, 4, 22; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 43, 6; Eutrop., 10, 15; Julian *Misop.*, 338B-339B; 365D; Mamertinus, *Paneg. Jul.*, 6; Greg. Nazianz., *Orat. contra Jul.*, 2, 23 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXXV).

[41] Amm. Marc., 25, 5, 6; 25, 10, 14; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 44, 1; Eutrop., 18, 1; Zosimus, 3, 30, 1-2; Zonar., 14, 13.

[42] Amm. Marc., 30, 9, 6; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 45, 5.

[43] Amm. Marc., 31, 14, 7.

[44] Amm. Marc., 27, 6, 15; 31, 10, 19; Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 47, 4; Auson., *Grat. Act.*, 63-65; Themist., *Orat.*, 13, 164C; 170C; 171A; 172D; Rufin., *Hist. Eccl.*, 11, 13.

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THEODOSIUS THE GREAT. In appearance and character he was compared in antiquity to Trajan; tall and majestic; limbs firm and strong, gait dignified and stately; eyes rather large; fair hair; complexion fresh with bloom of health.[45]

HONORIUS. Invested with the purple at age of ten; physically feeble, languid, and spiritless; courage weak and mind unenlightened; in early years practiced riding, hurling missiles from a sling, and drawing the bow, but soon took to the amusement of poultry raising and to a life of ease at Ravenna.[46]

ARCADIUS. Body short, thin and sluggish; dark complexion; dullness of wit betrayed by speech and by eyes, which always seemed to be in the act of closing.[47]

VALENTINIAN III. Became emperor at six under care of Galla Placidia; weak, idle, pleasure loving, dissolute, vindictive. No direct description of personal appearance at hand.[48]

THEODOSIUS II. Seven years old at accession; a weak ruler and a man of negative virtues; enervated by leisure, idle amusements, and royal education. Direct description not available and name remembered almost entirely by the code of laws issued under his authority.[49]

Of the forty-eight emperors specially treated above, direct description of personal features is found in the case of all except two, but in only twenty-eight instances does it occur as a clearly purposed feature of a biographical sketch—twelve by Suetonius,[50] nine by the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae,* six by Ammianus Marcellinus, and one by the author of the *Epitome de Caesaribus* (two by this writer if we count his description of Augustus in addition to that of Theodosius the Great). Taking the descriptions for

[45] Auct., *Epit. de Caes.*, 48, 8.

[46] Zonar., 13, 21; Claud., *III Cons. Honor.*, 39-50; *IV Cons. Honor.*, 518-531; Philostorg., *Hist. Eccl.*, 12, 13; Ambros., *De obitu Theod.*, 5; Procop., *Hist. of the Wars*, 3, 2, 25-26.

[47] Philostorg., *Hist. Eccl.*, 11, 3.

[48] Procop., *Hist. of the Wars*, 3, 3, 10-13.

[49] Procop., *Hist. of the Wars*, 3, 2, 33; 3, 3, 8.

[50] The descriptions by Suetonius are by far the most extended and in some cases show such a tendency toward expansion by comment and illustration that it is difficult to tell where description properly ends.

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all authors concerned, the longest found is about forty lines of ordinary text, the shortest three, with an average of ten for all. In thirteen instances the description precedes, and in fifteen follows, the account of the emperor's death.[51]

A good deal of information about the emperors is found in incidental mention of details by writers whose primary purpose is not to give a personal description, and in many cases not even a biographical outline. Such information is available for every emperor noted except Valens, and the references cited vary in number from one to seventeen, with an average of more than five. As an indication of the disappointing way in which literary sources serve us, it is to be observed that we find five references to the sluggard Vitellius as against two to the energetic Vespasian, and four to the ambitious, worthy Trajan; seventeen to vain, cruel Commodus, but only five to dignified and masterful Diocletian; eight to weak, pleasure-loving Gratian, one only to Theodosius the Great.

One of the most frequently mentioned features is that of stature; twelve emperors are described as tall and well proportioned; two as tall and ill proportioned; three as above average, large and evenly proportioned; six as average; seven as below average or low; two as slender. About as frequently described is the expression, appearance or manner as indicative of disposition: twelve are characterized as kindly, agreeable, affable, gentle, or modest; nine as stern, bold, harsh, haughty, or savage; six as tranquil, serious, or spiritless; one each as dignified, secretive, shameless, frightful. Personality comes next in frequency: eleven are handsome, graceful, or winsome; eight stately or majestic; two striking; two homely; three repulsive. As to care in personal appearance, two are fastidious; two indifferent; two unconventional; two effeminate. In dress one is elegant; five eccentric or capricious; three plain; nine gaudy or extravagant.

With reference to physical strength, constitution, etc., nineteen emperors are described as strong or robust, six as enervated and weak, two as sickly and of uncertain health. As an indication of personal appearance and strength, two are mentioned as old and five

[51] These figures, as far as the biography of the emperors is concerned, do not confirm the statement of Stuart, *Agricola of Tacitus*, 1909, p. 99: "In the specimens of Latin literature best known to us this rubric more frequently precedes the account of the death."

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as young, while humble origin and rural occupation are given in ten instances apparently as evidence of strong physical endowment. Ill health, ailments, and afflictions of various kinds are cited as affecting the physical appearance of twenty-seven emperors; so dissipation and intemperance in the case of five, and corpulence in five.

Two emperors wore the hair long, six were bald, two had thin, two soft, and four curly hair. The color is noted once as white, twice as gray, and thrice as blond. In four cases as a regular habit the face was kept smoothly shaven, in seven a beard was worn.

In complexion three emperors are said to have been fair, two dark, one between swarthy and fair, four ruddy, and three pale. As to eyes, four times they are bright and vivacious, five large, twice drooping, once sunken, once dark, twice gray, thrice blue. Other features occasionally described are: the eyebrows, once as grown together, once as overhanging, and once simply as becoming; the nose, once as straight, twice as aquiline; the mouth, once as full; the teeth, once as widely set, small and rough. The neck is characterized several times, once as thin, and five times as full and thick.

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BURNS AND HIS BIOGRAPHERS

By Franklyn Bliss Snyder

The first adequate life of Burns was published in 1851 by Robert Chambers, who thus added one more title to an already impressive bibliography. Upwards of two hundred and seventy-five editions of part or all of Burns's work had appeared in English since his death; in addition to these, the great majority of which contained biographical sketches as well as texts, there had been at least one hundred and fifty more or less significant biographical memoirs, reviews, or formal biographies. It is beyond dispute that only a small fraction of this material was of any lasting significance; it is equally clear that the first half of the nineteenth century took a keen interest in Burns, and that Chambers wrote for an audience that knew and enjoyed Burns's poetry, and was already familiar with what may fairly be called a composite portrait of the poet, and of the world in which he lived.

The Burns thus presented to the world through the publications of fifty years was a peasant of genius who, to phrase the whole matter succinctly, had drunk himself into an early grave. Against this harsh characterization an occasional voice had been raised, but the protests had been few and ineffectual. Long before 1851 the tradition of debauchery and alcoholism had been firmly established. And around the figure of Burns thus presented to the world there had gathered a mass of anecdote and incident based upon the flimsiest evidence, or upon none; an accumulation of gossip, amounting to nothing so far as sober fact was concerned, but all contributing to the composite portrait with which Chambers's readers were familiar.

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It is the purpose of this paper first, to trace the growth of what may be called the alcoholic tradition, without at present paying special regard to whether or not it represented Burns truthfully; and second, to show whose was the responsibility for a considerable part, at least, of the unsubstantiated anecdote which future biographers have found grave difficulty in erasing from the canvas.

I

First, then, concerning the tradition that the poet was an alcoholic debauchee.

That Burns was a bad lot was the expressed opinion of even those persons who composed his obituary notices. Thus in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* for July 26, 1796, five days after the poet's death, one reads that "The public, to whose amusement he had so largely contributed, will hear with regret that his extraordinary endowments were accompanied with frailties which rendered them useless to himself and family"[1]—a statement repeated with slight changes in *The Scots Magazine* for July, 1796.[2] More specific was the writer in the *London Monthly Magazine and British Register,* July to December, 1796, who stated that "Though his early days were occupied in procuring bread by the labour of his own hands, yet his nights were devoted to books and the muses, except when they were wasted in the indulgences of the social board, to which the Poet was too immoderately attached in every period of his life"; adding that "his conduct and his fate afford but too melancholy proofs" of "the failings of genius."[3]

There is little doubt that Maria Riddell had in mind statements of this nature when she said, in the second paragraph of her generous and temperate memoir, "Conscious indeed of my own inability to do justice to such a subject, I should have continued wholly silent had misrepresentation and calumny been less industrious."[4] Writing thus from Annandale, August 7, 1796, and publishing her brief tribute in the *Dumfries Journal* the same month,

[1] Quoted from *The Bibliography of Robert Burns*, Kilmarnock, 1881, p. 117.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 116 ff.

[4] *The Works of Robert Burns . . .* by James Currie, M. D. The Fourth Edition. London, 1803, 4v., I, 252. Currie omitted this entire paragraph from his first edition, but inserted it later.

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she had the satisfaction of defending a man who had lampooned her most shabbily, but whose slights she had forgiven and almost forgotten, and whose true character she was in a position to understand far better than were the men whose more pretentious accounts were soon to be before the public.

The public had not long to wait for the first of these formal biographies. Again one turns to the London *Monthly Magazine and British Register,* for here, in Volume III, January-June 1797, appeared Robert Heron's *Original Memoirs of the late Robert Burns,* to be republished the same year in Edinburgh, and to remain for three years the unchallenged and apparently unquestioned characterization of the poet.

Heron, who was to die ten years later in Newgate Prison hospital, adopted a high moral tone in writing of his dead friend; and though he credited the youthful Burns with some of the virtues which everyone knew he possessed, he pictured his life from 1787 to 1796 in colors of almost unrelieved blackness. Of the winter in Edinburgh he wrote:

> The enticements of pleasure too often unman our virtuous resolution, even while we wear the air of rejecting them with a stern brow; we resist, and resist, and resist; but, at last, suddenly turn and passionately embrace the enchantress. The bucks of Edinburgh accomplished, in regard to Burns, that in which the boors of Ayrshire had failed. . . . Too many of his hours were now spent at the tables of persons who delighted to urge conviviality to drunkenness in the tavern or [in the brothel]. He suffered himself to be surrounded by a race of miserable beings, who were proud to tell that they had been in company with Burns; and had seen Burns as loose and foolish as themselves.[5]

At Ellisland, according to Heron, Burns

> continued to diverge more and more into dissipation; and his dissipation tended to enhance whatever was disagreeable and perplexing in the state of his affairs. He sunk, by degrees, into the boon-companion of mere excisemen; and almost every drunken fellow, who was willing to spend his money lavishly in the ale-house, could easily command the company of Burns.[6]

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[5] Heron's *Memoir,* reprinted in *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen,* originally edited by Robert Chambers. New edition, Glasgow, 1856. 4 vols., I, 449. Bracketed phrase in original, but not in *Biographical Dictionary.*

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 453.

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Even this sort of slander, however, was not enough to satisfy Heron. The story of the Dumfries years still remained to be told, during which, we read,

> His dissipation became still more deeply habitual . . . . The morals of the town were . . . deplorably corrupted; and, though a husband and a father, poor Burns did not escape suffering by the general contamination. . . . At last, crippled, emaciated, even to the last feebleness, and amid the last agonies of expiring life, yielding readily to any temptation that offered the semblance of intemperate enjoyment, he died.[7]

Thus Heron, in 1797; and it is significant that this travesty was highly enough esteemed by Scotsmen to be reprinted in 1834 as the only life of Burns in Chambers's *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen,* where it is characterised as "an uncommonly clear view of the life and character of the poet."

Three years after the publication of Heron's memoir, there appeared the most widely circulated and most influential biography of Burns that has ever been published, Dr. James Currie's *Works of Robert Burns, with an Account of his Life and Criticism of his Writings.*[8] Currie, as everyone knows, was a Liverpool physician who undertook the task of bringing out a collected edition of Burns's work for the benefit of his widow and children. He did his work better than seemed likely from antecedent probability, and the Burns family profited substantially by his labors.[9] But he approached his task with his mind firmly made up on two important points; first, as he puts it in the "Prefatory Remarks," the "use of spirituous liquors" was "a detestable practice, which includes in its consequences almost every evil, physical and moral"; and second, Burns's moral failings were so gross as to necessitate great charity on the part of his biographer: "In relating the incidents of his life, candour will prevent us from dwelling invidiously on those faults and failings which justice forbids us to conceal; we will tread lightly over his yet warm ashes, and respect the laurels that shelter his untimely grave."[10]

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 454 ff.

[8] London, Cadell and Davies, 1800. 4 vols.

[9] From the first edition alone some twelve hundred pounds were available for the trust fund.

[10] *Op. cit.*, I, 24, 31. I quote throughout from the 1815 Edinburgh reprint of the first (1800) London edition.

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Then follows the biography, occupying virtually an entire volume; far more ample and more accurate than Heron's, despite the fact that Currie, apparently at Gilbert Burns's suggestion, was occasionally guilty of editorial tampering with dates and quotations; but like Heron's leaving upon the reader the impression that Burns, during the later years of his life, was an habitual drunkard. For instance:

> In Dumfries, temptations to *the sin that so easily beset him*, continually presented themselves; and his irregularities grew by degrees into habits. These temptations unhappily occurred during his engagements in the business of his office, as well as during his hours of relaxation; and . . . finally triumphed over the powers of his will.[11]

And again,

> Perpetually stimulated by alcohol in one or other of its various forms, the inordinate actions of the circulating system became at length habitual; the process of nutrition was unable to supply the waste, and the powers of life began to fail. . . . In his moments of thought he reflected with the deepest regret on his fatal progress, clearly foreseeing the goal towards which he was hastening, without the strength of mind necessary to stop, or even slacken his course. His temper now became more irritable and gloomy; he fled from himself into society, often of the lowest kind. And in such company, that part of the convivial scene, in which wine increases sensibility and excites benevolence, was hurried over, to reach the succeeding part, over which uncontroled passion generally presided. He who suffers the pollution of inebriation, how shall he escape other pollution? But let us refrain from the mention of errors over which delicacy and humanity draw the veil.[12]

There is more of the same sort, as well as several pages devoted to proving that "men of genius should be aware of the importance of self control."[13]

Fortunately for Burns's family, but unfortunately for his reputation, Currie's four volumes enjoyed an immediate and a phenomenal popularity.[14] Between 1800 and 1820 an even score of editions ap-

[11] *Ibid.*, I, 199.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 214 ff. The veiled suggestion of venereal infection, in next to the last sentence quoted, seems to be an echo of Heron's statement that Burns "did not escape suffering by the general contamination." Like Currie's reference to an "accidental complaint" (I, 215), the charge seems groundless.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 242 ff.

[14] The entire work seems to have been republished as follows: London

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peared in England and Scotland, at least two in the United States, and one in Ireland. In addition to these formal re-issuings of Currie's entire work, there were many editions of part or all of Burns's poems, each accompanied by some sort of biographical sketch usually based upon Currie, and not infrequently exaggerating his calumnies. Thus by the time Currie's work was twenty years old, the public at large was thoroughly familiar with his interpretation of the poet, and the tradition that Burns was an alcoholic debauchee was firmly established.

After Heron and Currie, the next person of any importance to be heard as a character witness against Burns was David Irving, from 1820 to 1849 librarian in charge of the Advocates' Library, and editor of many of the Bannatyne and Maitland Club publications. In 1804 he published his *Lives of the Scottish Poets*.[15] For the life of Burns he was content to use Currie as chief authority, though he corrected one or two errors of fact. But he exceeded both Heron and Currie in the zeal with which he hurled at Burns the charge of debauchery. Two excerpts will suffice to show the temper of his chronicle:

> About this period [the years at Dumfries] . . . his constitution was deprived of its native energies, and could only be preserved from overwhelming languor by the aid of stimulant liquors. In this deplorable state of body as well as of mind, he was eager to avoid the pangs of solitary reflection, and was even incapable of relishing domestic or rational society. He rushed into the company of men whom in his purer days he would have despised and shunned; he degraded his noble faculties to so mean a level, that many of his earlier friends became half-ashamed of having contracted such an intimacy. . . . . Often did he acknowledge his numerous breaches of the duties of a husband and father, . . . but the task of reformation being still deferred till some future day, his habits gradually became more pernicious.[16]

1800 (original edition), 1801; Philadelphia 1801; London 1802, 1803; Belfast 1805; London 1806, 1809, 1813, 1814; Edinburgh 1815; London 1815; Baltimore 1815; Montrose 1816; Edinburgh 1818; Montrose 1819 (4 vols. as 2); Edinburgh 1819 (4 vols. as 2); Edinburgh 1819; London 1819; Edinburgh 1820; London 1820, 1820. After 1820 the editions of part or all of the work become so numerous that I make no attempt to list them.

[15] *The Lives of the Scottish Poets; with preliminary Dissertations on the Literary History of Scotland, and the Early Scottish Drama.* Edinburgh, A. Lawrie and Co., 1804. 2 vols.

[16] *Op. cit.*, II, 475.

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More succinct, however, is the first sentence of Irving's biography, a sort of anticipatory summary of the entire account:

> Among the unfortunate sons of genius whom the present age has beheld descending into an untimely grave, we cannot hesitate in assigning a preeminent station to Robert Burns; a man whose native vigour of intellect elevated him far above the ordinary standard; a man whose lamentable deviation from the sober paths of life had almost degraded him to a level with the outcasts of society.[17]

Fortunately for Burns, Irving's work does not seem to have gone into a second edition.

For four years matters remained *in statu quo;* then, in 1808, appeared Cromek's *Reliques of Robert Burns:*[18] a book destined to enjoy great popularity, and to make trouble for all Burns's subsequent biographers, not excluding Angellier and Henley. The nature of this work was such as to preclude formal biographical comment; but Cromek took pains in his Preface to endorse Currie's interpretation, and thus to strengthen the general impression that Currie had pictured the poet truthfully:

> Whatever unhappiness the Poet was in his lifetime doomed to experience, few persons have been so fortunate in a biographer as Burns. A strong feeling of his excellencies, a perfect discrimination of his character, and a just allowance for his errors are the distinguishing features in the work of Dr. Currie.[19]

In other words, said Cromek, Currie told the truth.

Cromek's volume found its way to the editorial offices of the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly,* where it was considered of enough importance to be dealt with by Jeffrey himself and by Walter Scott. Of the general fairness of much of Jeffrey's review, published in January, 1809, there can be no doubt. He knew whereof he spake when dealing with Scottish literature, and to this day his vigorous and incisive comments remain well worth reading. But he too accepted the tradition of Burns's moral depravity, and strengthened it by his unquestioning acquiescence in the charge.

> The leading vice in Burns's character . . . was his contempt . . . for prudence, decency, and regularity, which communicated to a great part

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 443.

[18] *Reliques of Robert Burns; consisting chiefly of original letters, poems, and critical observations on Scottish Songs.* Collected and published by R. H. Cromek. London, Cadell and Davies, 1808.

[19] *Op. cit.*, iii.

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of his productions a character of immorality, at once contemptible and hateful. . . . That profligacy is almost always selfishness; and that the excuse of impetuous feeling can hardly ever be justly pleaded for those who neglect the ordinary duties of life, must be apparent, we think, even to the least reflecting of those sons of fancy and song. It requires no habit of deep thinking, nor any thing more, indeed, than the information of an honest heart, to perceive that it is cruel and base to spend, in vain superfluities, that money which belongs of right to the pale industrious tradesman and his famishing infants; or that it is a vile prostitution of language to talk of that man's generosity or goodness of heart, who sits raving about friendship and philanthropy in a tavern, while his wife's heart is breaking at her cheerless fireside, and his children pining in solitary poverty.[20]

Most of which, as applied to Burns, is sheer nonsense.

Scott's review,[21] like Jeffrey's, contains much that is of value, especially the discussion of Burns's relations to the great body of Scottish song. But he too accepted without question Currie's interpretation, praised him for having treated Burns very considerately, and implied that Burns was actually a good deal worse than Currie made him out. Here, then, was more fuel on the fire.

The next voice to be heard was that of Josiah Walker, soon to be elected to the chair of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. In 1811 he contributed an extensive unsigned biography to the two volume edition of Burns's works "Printed for the Trustees of the Late James Morrison." Walker had been a secretary or tutor in the household of the Duke of Athole, at Blair, where he had met Burns on the occasion of his 1787 tour of the Highlands. He subsequently saw him at Dumfries, but never knew him intimately. In the introductory paragraphs of his work he acknowledges Currie as his chief authority, and says that the ability of his predecessor leaves him but little to do. Then follows his account of Burns's life: inaccurate, at times somewhat condescending, and confirmatory of the alcoholic tradition,[22] but, like Irving's seven years earlier, relatively uninfluential when compared to Currie's more widely-read account.

[20] *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1809, pp. 260 ff.

[21] *The Quarterly Review*, February, 1809, pp. 19 ff.

[22] For example: "After becoming the idol of the fashionable topers of Edinburgh and Dumfriesshire, the challenges to exhibit his Bacchanalian prowess grew so frequent, that practice at last degenerated into habit." *An Account of the Life and Character of Robert Burns* [by Josiah Walker] Edinburgh, 1811, p. xci.

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When four years more had elapsed, Burns found a defender in the person of Alexander Peterkin. By 1815 the British copyright on Currie's first edition had expired; Peterkin then republished it in Edinburgh, and prefixed to Volume I nearly a hundred pages of new material, all tending to one conclusion: "That the caricatures which we have been contemplating are genuine likenesses of [Burns] we distinctly deny; they have no closer resemplance to Burns than a monkey has to a man."[23] The method Peterkin adopted in proving this sweeping generalization was simple. Following a preliminary summary of the facts of Burns's life, he printed excerpts from the most offensive publications that had come to his notice, categorically denied the accuracy of their statements, and argued the points at some length. He then published four letters addressed to himself by persons who had known Burns, and were in a position to substantiate his own statements: first, a shilly-shally letter from Gilbert Burns, saying little of any significance about anything; second, a letter from James Gray, Master in the Edinburgh High School, and formerly teacher in the Dumfries Academy,—defending the poet on all counts of the indictment; third, a pertinent letter from Alexander Findlater, Burns's immediate superior in the Excise during the entire term of the poet's connection with the service, clearing Burns of the charge of being so intemperate that he could not perform his official duties; and finally, an unimportant letter from George Thomson (to whose *Select Melodies* Burns had contributed many songs) chiefly concerned with Cromek and the *Reliques*. But then, after having done so much to clear Burns from the accumulated charges of twenty years, Peterkin went quietly ahead and reprinted Currie, entire—thus recalling to the stand the very person whom he had placed at the head of his list of unreliable witnesses! On the whole, Peterkin's well-meant defense seems to have produced little change in the contemporary estimate of Burns.

1816 Wordsworth took a hand in the matter, with the publication of his *Letter to a Friend of Robert Burns*.[24] The friend was James Gray, whose defence of Burns in Peterkin's edition Words-

[23] *The Life and Works of Robert Burns as originally edited by James Currie, M.D. . . . to which is prefixed a review of the life of Burns . . . by Alexander Peterkin.* Edinburgh, 1815, 4 vols., I, xlv.

[24] *A Letter to a Friend of Robert Burns.* London, 1816. Easily available in *The Prose Works of Wordsworth*, ed. Grosart, London, 1876, 3 vols., II, 4 ff.

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worth had read. The pamphlet is of more than passing interest, because it contains Wordsworth's most extensive comment on Burns's work. Furthermore, one learns from it that Gilbert Burns had already asked Wordsworth's advice concerning the best method of defending his brother's reputation, though he had done nothing about it; and that Gilbert was already planning to revise Currie for the original publishers, Cadell and Davies—a fact which explains his refusal to have any real share in Peterkin's work.[25] And, most interesting of all to the general reader, perhaps, we find in this letter Wordsworth's full-throated counter-blast against Jeffrey, whose "intellectual depravity" the author of the recently-reviewed *Excursion* had here an opportunity to expose. But concerning the material question, whether or not Burns was the alcoholic that he had been pictured, Wordsworth had little to say. Indeed, by pleading for leniency towards the dead, and by referring to "the black things that have been written of this great man, and the frightful ones that have been insinuated against him,"[26] without entering a denial, he tended to strengthen the reader's impression that the charges were true.

Next[27] to appear was the poet's own bother. Gilbert Burns's so-called "revision" of Currie appeared in 1820 as *The Works of Robert Burns . . . by James Currie . . . The Eighth edition. To which are now added, some further particulars of the author's life, new notes illustrative of the poems and letters, and many other additions, by Gilbert Burns.*[28] That the publishers expected this to be a success is clear by their payment of £250 to Gilbert for his work, and promise of as much more when and if a second edition should be required. Here, obviously, was Gilbert's opportunity to clear his brother's reputation, concerning which he had from time

[25] "Mr. Gilbert Burns . . . intimated his aversion to do anything which could in reality, or even in appearance, be prejudicial or offensive to" the authorized publishers of Currie's life; i. e., he would not aid Peterkin, because he himself was planning to revise Currie for the London publishers. (Peterkin's edition of Currie, I, lxxviii).

[26] *Letter*, p. 6.

[27] Hamilton Paul's *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, Air (*sic*), 1819, might seem to deserve a place in this list, because of its defence of Burns's ecclesiastical satires. Paul was not much concerned, however, with the aspect of Burns's reputation considered in this paper.

[28] London, Cadell and Davies. 4 vols.

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to time guardedly expressed himself. The extent of his contribution, however, was slight; a few hitherto unpublished letters; three pages (I, 343-346) of new and trivial information concerning Burns's family since the poet's death; an Appendix (I, 402-420) concerning the condition of the peasantry in Scotland; and an Appendix (I, 421-446) concerning "my brother's habits." As one turns the pages of this last section, one finds but little that is in any way impressive. "On the subject of my brother's habits," writes Gilbert, "succeeding biographers and reviewers, presuming they might go beyond Dr. Currie's statement, have brought forward the most revolting calumnies and misrepresentations. To several of these I have been urged to publish answers in order to vindicate my brother's character; but this I could never muster sufficient courage to do." [29] The last statement was true enough. It is hard to acquit Gilbert of the charge of being a coward and something of a fool; as witness his naive statement that Burns, "eager for fame, and fond of distinction. . . . endeavoured to overcome his aversion to drinking, and succeeded in being able to drink like other people." [30] Gilbert does deny the old charge of habitual intoxication; he reprints the most important parts of the Findlater letter which Peterkin had published; he prints another letter from Gray, who was losing no opportunity to make his voice heard. But his work as a whole was timid and inconsequential; when it was completed the accepted interpretation of his brother as an habitual alcoholic was still unshaken. And he too, like Peterkin, reprinted Currie, entire.

Once again Gilbert Burns's name appears in the record. In 1822 there was published in London *The Poetical Works of Robert Burns; to which are prefixed a history of the poems, by his brother, Gilbert Burns.*[31] In this case Gilbert's only contribution was a letter to Dr. Currie, written in 1798, and first published in 1800, which may well have appeared here without Gilbert's permission. But this 1822 edition is worth mentioning for one reason: the concluding sentence of the biographical sketch shows clearly enough what had come to be the accepted opinion of the poet:

> [Burns's failings] have been detailed in this sketch of his life, from motives for which no apology is necessary: to guard ambitious and ardent

[29] *Op. cit.*, I, 421.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 424.
[31] London, John Bumpus, 1822, 2 vols.

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minds from similar irregularities and wanderings, and to explain why such a man, after the first burst of popular applause was past, lived and died more unhappily than would probably have been the case had he never known what it was to be caressed and admired.[32]

In other words, by 1822 Burns was being held up to public view as a horrible example and a warning.

So much, then, concerning the tradition of alcoholism and moral depravity, a tradition traceable primarily to Heron and Currie, but enforced and buttressed by Irving, Walker, Scott, and Jeffrey. It is a slanderous tale of exaggeration and over-statement, relieved only by Peterkin's and Gray's whole-hearted but ineffectual attempts to clear the poet's reputation. There remains now the briefer task of suggesting whose was the responsibility for the mass of unsubstantiated anecdote that was clustering around the figure of Burns when Chambers published his biography.

II

In considering this second matter, one begins with Currie, and discovers that, unfortunate as was his biography in some respects, it was not loaded down with anecdotes introduced by "as the story goes," or "as has always been believed." Currie was a scientist of repute, unskilled in literary biography, a little prudish, perhaps, but endowed with a genuine respect for facts. His source-material he printed *in extenso,* with only occasional editorial embroidering or re-vamping. To be sure, he is responsible for the account of Burns's fishing expedition, related on the authority of "two English gentlemen," the account which neither Mrs. Burns nor Carlyle could be brought to believe. But, on the whole, Currie kept clear of this particular pitfall, as, in general, did Irving and Walker. Yet within thirty years there had come into being a very considerable mass of what amounts to little more than idle gossip.[33] Where did it come from?

[32] *Op. cit.*, I, xxv.

[33] For instance, from Lockhart's *Life* alone one might point to the account of Burns discussing religion at the tavern door, and being hissed for his levity (Lockhart's *Life of Burns*, London, 1892, p. 53); or to the account of his actions when presented with the freedom of Jedburgh (p. 147); or to the conversation with the father of Allan Cunningham (p. 196); or to the details of the "Wounded Hare" incident (p. 207); or to Mrs. Burns's

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Part, of course, in the very nature of events, arose from the fact that as Burns came to be considered more and more of a celebrity, although a somewhat disreputable one, everybody who had ever known him felt compelled to tell, somehow or other, what he knew—and if sober fact was too drab, imagination might be called in to assist. But it is my firm belief that the world owes the most picturesque and the most unreliable of the Burns anecdotes to Allan Cunningham's inventive mendacity. "Honest Allan, a credit to Caledonia," as his friends called him; a first class stone mason, a very competent general manager for Sir Francis Chantry, the London sculptor, and an indefatigable editor, biographer, and lyric poet.

> Nullum fere scribendi genus non tetegit;
> Nullum quod tetegit non—turbavit.

His imagination was unrestrained by any profound respect for facts; the result is that he stands alone among his contemporaries—some of whom were none too scrupulous—on a pinnacle of unique untrustworthiness.

To understand Cunningham's connection with what I call the "Burns legend" one must go back to 1808, when Cromek published the *Reliques of Robert Burns* (Cunningham had no hand in this, for he had not yet met Cromek). One section of this work consisted of Burns's notes on Scottish song, as found in Robert Riddell's interleaved copy of the *Scots Musical Museum*. Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that Jeffrey at once suspected at least the possibility of fraud in these notes. Apropos of the "Highland Mary" episode, as it appears in the *Reliques*, the reviewer said: "Mr. Cromek has added, in a note, the following interesting particulars; though without specifying the authority upon which he details them."[34] And again, "The editor has omitted, in almost every instance, to specify the source from which [these documents] were derived."[35] Today one need only turn to J. C. Dick's *Notes on Scottish Song by Robert Burns*[36]

overhearing Burns composing *Tam* (p. 208); or to the "Galloway version" of *Tam* (p. 210); or to the capture of the smuggling vessel and purchase of the four cannon for the French revolutionists (p. 228); or to the mass of stuff concerning Burns's death-bed and funeral (pp. 293 ff.)—and there is more of the same sort in Lockhart.

[34] *Edinburgh Review*, Jan., 1809, p. 266.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

[36] London, 1908.

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to see which of Cromek's alleged transcriptions were genuine, which at best doubtful, and which, in one way or another, inaccurate.

The book at once became popular, and in 1810, when Cromek published his *Select Scottish Songs* he included in the new work all the so-called Burns notes that had formerly appeared in the *Reliques*, with many additions, all forgeries. In bringing out this collection he utilized Cunningham as editor. Cunningham was in the very process of palming off on Cromek a volume of his own compositions as genuine *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*, and it is beyond reasonable doubt that he was the author of the "new" Burns notes that appeared in the 1810 collection. If this is a correct inference, it was here that Cunningham had his first experience in fabricating material concerning Burns.

With the passing of time he grew bolder. In the *London Magazine* for 1824, he appeared as the author of an article entitled "Robert Burns and Lord Byron."[37] The chief merit of this consists in the vividness with which it pictures certain incidents connected with Burns's death; but, unfortunately, as Scott Douglas put it, "It has long been known that this finely sensational chapter on the Death-bed and Funeral of Burns is a 'purely imaginary' recollection of what is described";[38] and again, concerning the same essay, "Literary impudence never went beyond this."[39] As a matter of fact, however, Cunningham was hardly getting into his stride when he published this 1824 article.

In 1828 came Lockhart's *Life of Robert Burns*, dedicated to James Hogg and Allan Cunningham "in testimony of admiration and esteem." Concerning this famous biography, destined to run into many editions, the best thing one can say is that it occasioned Carlyle's review. It is inexcusably inaccurate from beginning to end; at times demonstrably mendacious; generously sprinkled with unsubstantiated anecdotes; and—by Lockhart's repeated admission—dependent to a considerable measure upon information derived from Allan Cunningham.[40] And wherever Cunningham's

[37] Reprinted entire in David Hogg's *Life of Allan Cunningham*, Dumfries, 1875.

[38] Lockhart's *Life of Burns*, edited by William Scott Douglas, London, 1892, p. 292, n.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 295, n.

[40] To check the truth of this entire statement one need only consult Scott Douglas's notes in his "revised and corrected" edited, London, 1892.

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name appears as authority, the narrative is most untrustworthy. It is impossible to say how far Lockhart would have gone in embroidering his tale had he not had "Honest Allan's" assistance; but it is clear that between the two of them they did a good job of ornamentation. And knowing his propensities, one is inclined to credit Cunningham, not Lockhart, with being the chief malefactor.

Not till 1834, however, did Cunningham reach the bad eminence to which his editorial merit was destined to raise him. In this year he published his own *Works of Robert Burns, with his Life,*[41] concerning which he wrote to Gabriel Neil, "A third of it is new, so are many of the Anecdotes." [43] Turning the pages of this biography today, one finds a sympathetic and not ill-written account of Burns's career, but one so besprinkled with crude mis-statements and gossippy chatter concerning the poet's life that—I speak advisedly—one hesitates to give credence to anything between the covers of the eight volumes. And this imaginative biography was popular enough to be republished at least twenty-three times in the next thirty years,[43] and to establish itself as of almost equal authority with Currie. At the same time it served—as had Currie—as the basis for no one will ever know how many memoirs whose authors failed to acknowledge their indebtedness to Cunningham, but who repeated his mistakes and his inventions.

Thus by the time Chambers undertook his re-examination of the original material for a biography of Burns, the English-speaking world had become thoroughly acquainted with the Currie-Cunningham composite portrait—the good doctor being largely responsible for the tradition of alcoholism and debauchery, and "Honest Allan" for a mass of fictitious anecdotes that future biographers have found it increasingly difficult to separate from the picture of Burns in his habit as he lived.

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[41] London, Cochrane and M'Crone, 1834. 8 vols.

[43] *Bibliography of Robert Burns*, Kilmarnock, 1881, p. 47.

[43] London 1834 (first edition); Boston, 1834; Philadelphia, 1835; London 1840, 1842, 1846; 1850; Philadelphia, 1851; Boston, 1853; London, 1854?; Boston, 1855; Hartford, 1855; New York, 1855; Philadelphia, 1856, 1857, 1858; New York, 1858, 1859; Philadelphia, 1860; London, 1862; Edinburgh, 1864, 1865, 1865, 1866?, 1866?.

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THE NATURE OF THE DONNE TRADITION

By George Williamson

It is now more than three hundred years since Ben Jonson told Drummond of Hawthornden "That Done himself, for not being understood would perish." It is nearly half that time since Dr. Johnson, speaking of those he was the first to call the Metaphysical Poets, declared that "these writers will, without great wrong, lose their right to the name of poets." Though he made this prophesy conditional upon the validity of Aristotle, we may be sure that he was in no doubt of the issue.

Yet the times have never been riper for the understanding of Donne than in our own day, if we may judge from the studies which scholars have devoted to John Donne even since Grierson's great edition. These studies include such unusual items as the handsome *Bibliography* by Geoffrey Keynes, the illuminating French dissertation by Miss Ramsay, and the fine Italian study by Mario Praz. Nor are these the only signs of a very live interest in Donne at the present time. In these later days—in fact, since Browning—Donne has again become a very living influence with our poets. Not long ago this phenomenon received notice even in the weekly press,[1] and thus revealed how conscious it has become.

Despite such evidence, the place of the Donne tradition in the current of English poetry has yet to be generally recognized and defined in our literary histories. And since Johnson[2] wrote the judgment which has stuck, although the chief elements in his indictment are as old as Dryden,[3] whose reasons to condemn are not ours, it is to Johnson that we must return in any revaluation of Donne. The influence of Donne, both in his own century and in subsequent centuries, will show, I believe, that he belongs in the direct current of English poetry and not in one of the eccentric eddies. But only the other day Professor Legouis, in his excellent *History of English Literature* (*650-1660*), thrust Donne back

[1] *Saturday Review of Literature*, 27 August, 1927, p. 66. See my essay on "The Talent of T. S. Eliot" in *The Sewanee Review*, July, 1927.

[2] Johnson, *Lives of the English Poets*, "Cowley."

[3] Dryden, *Discourse concerning . . . Satire; Dedication to Eleonora.*

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into limbo with these words: "John Donne . . . is perhaps the most singular of English poets. His verses offer examples of everything castigated by classical writers as bad taste and eccentricity, all pushed to such an extreme that the critic's head swims as he condemns." [4]

With such a view before us, we need to arrive at a clear analysis of the nature of Donne's poetry before we can consider it as the beginning of a poetic tradition. Dr. Johnson tried to define Donne's poetry by its defects, and criticism down to Courthope has tended to follow this path. Metaphysical wit and the conceit get a large share of this condemnatory criticism, which fails satisfactorily to account for the power of Donne and his growing vogue with lovers of poetry. Modern critics, such as Gosse, Grierson, and Praz, are more likely to be struck by the intellectual intensity of Donne, the marriage of reason and passion, the embrace of Apollo and Dionysus. To Gosse this intellectual intensity is "the great gift which Donne passed down to his disciples"; [5] to Grierson it is a "peculiar blend of passion and thought," [6] and the greatest achievement of the Metaphysical Poets; to T. S. Eliot it is a "direct sensuous apprehension of thought, or a recreation of thought into feeling." [7] This quality will appear in a typical passage from Donne, this from "The Extasie":

> As our blood labours to beget
> Spirits, as like soules as it can,
> Because such fingers need to knit
> That subtile knot, which makes us man:
> So must pure lovers soules descend
> T' affections, and to faculties,
> Which sense may reach and apprehend,
> Else a great Prince in prison lies.
> To' our bodies turne wee then, that so
> Weake men on love reveal'd may looke;
> Loves mysteries in soules doe grow,
> But yet the body is his booke.

Here a Dionysian ecstasy is supported by the coolest reason, and neither feeling nor thought can be separated from its sensuous

[4] English translation, p. 215.
[5] *More Books on the Table*, "Metaphysical Poetry," p. 311.
[6] *Introduction to Metaphysical Poetry*, p. xvi.
[7] *Homage to John Dryden*, p. 29.

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embodiment. This is no poetizing of thought, but thought in the flesh of sensuous and emotional perception, or mind expressing itself in the book of the body. Some idea of the distinction I am trying to make with respect to Donne's thinking may be had by a reference to Keats. In one of his letters Keats says, "axioms in philosophy are not axioms till they are proved upon our pulses." [8] Just so, thoughts were not thoughts for Donne till they were proved upon his pulses, not set down with accompaniments on the pulses as they are in Tennyson. This remark of Keats, which throws new light upon his desire for a life of sensations rather than of thoughts, describes Donne's natural way of apprehending thought. Mr. John Middleton Murry's claim that it is impossible to isolate the faculties of Keats' mind is even truer of Donne's.

What gives his intellectual intensity its peculiar power and makes his faculties impossible to isolate is the unified sensibility of Donne. In the words of T. S. Eliot, "The range of his feeling was great, but no more remarkable than its unity. He was altogether present in every thought and every feeling." [9] Perhaps nothing is more remarkable than the unity of feeling which runs through the infinite variety of his love songs, unity in the sense that every mood under which he groups the elements of love seems implicit in the mood which dominates any given poem. "The Flea" and "The Extasie" involve similar elements, the same real theme and conclusion, but their moods seem poles apart, and yet we know how easily in Donne one may change to the other and how one philosophy is the postulate of both moods. Donne's unified sensibility makes his images the very body of his thought, not something added to it. A passage in "The Second Anniversarie" describes and embodies this sensuous thinking:

> When wilt thou shake off this Pedantery,
> Of being taught by sense, and Fantasie?
> . . . . . .
> Thou shalt not peepe through lattices of eyes,
> Nor heare through Labyrinths of eares, nor learne
> By circuit, or collections to discerne.

And yet this the mind of Donne was always doing; what he

[8] *Letter to Reynolds*, 3 May, 1818.
[9] "John Donne," *Nation and Athenaeum*, 9 June, 1923.

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wrote of Elizabeth Drury is peculiarly true of him: his body thought. This trait Donne shares with Shakespeare and Chapman, but not with Ben Jonson, who was much more conscious of the dualism of thought and its embodiment. Comparison of "The Second Anniversarie" with "In Memoriam" or "Rabbi Ben Ezra" will show that the nineteenth-century poets have lost this quality, that they think and feel by starts, that their images are not the very body of their thought.[10] Much as this felt thought may seem an essential of all poetry, there has been little of it and its source, a unified sensibility, in English poetry since the seventeenth century. Keats was working toward it in his second *Hyperion.*

The rule of wit which has often been singled out as the chief characteristic of Donne is closely related to his use of the conceit and of surprise. For Courthope the heading, "School of Metaphysical Wit,"[11] is enough to dispose of Donne. Dr. Johnson began the difficult task of defining this wit, and we cannot do better than to begin, and perhaps to end, with his definition. He describes it "as a kind of *discordia concors;* a combination of dissimilar images, or discovery of occult resemblances in things apparently unlike." He adds, "Of wit, thus defined, they have more than enough. The most heterogeneous ideas are yoked by violence together."[12] As an indictment the force of this statement lies in the words *yoked* and *violence; yoked* denies the union necessary to the good poetic image, and *violence* implies an effect which the mind will not accept. As a definition of wit it does not differ from a description of the operation of the poetic mind, except in the degree of compulsion exerted by that mind. As an indictment this statement applies to all poetry which errs in the respects named, and no more to so-called metaphysical poetry than the frequency of such errors justifies, which its enemies will think often enough. My point is that the charge can be made against poetry other than the metaphysical, while the definition can be applied to the common operation of the poetic mind.

Dr. Johnson goes on to deny to this wit the achievement of the

[10] See T. S. Eliot, *Homage to John Dryden,* pp. 30-31, for an excellent statement of this difference.

[11] *History of English Poetry,* vol. III, chapter VIII.

[12] *Lives of the English Poets,* "Cowley."

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pathetic and the sublime, a judgment so unfair that it can be refuted by just two lines from Donne:

> So, so, breake off this last lamenting kisse. (*The Expiration.*)
> . . . so long,
> As till Gods great *Venite* change the song. (*Second Anniversary.*)

Even in another hand this wit could achieve an emotional effect not often met; observe the effect of terror in these lines, especially in the figure, from "The Exequy" of Donne's disciple, Bishop King:

> But heark! My Pulse like a soft Drum
> Beats my approach, tells Thee I come;
> And slow howere my marches be,
> I shall at last sit down by Thee.

These lines reveal typical metaphysical wit and abilities denied to it, but they have the power and produce the effects which belong to all true poetry. Although Dr. Johnson's charge that wit was used to show the author's ingenuity and learning is too often true, especially of Donne's imitators, such faults are faults which have appeared wherever the conceit has appeared; and they should be reprimanded by the general standards of English poetry, not accepted as the defective virtues of the Metaphysical School.

If we accept Dr. Johnson's definition of wit as applicable to more than the school for which he coined it, we must still admit many of the particular charges which he makes, though we may differ from him in our judgment of their offensiveness. But first of all we should observe that this wit, or *discordia concors,* may produce an intellectual or an imaginative effect. In one case it pleases by its mental ingenuity, and in another by its imaginative shock; in other words, it may be what we call witty, or it may be profoundly moving; in "The Flea" it is witty, in "A Valediction: forbidding mourning" it is moving. These two possible effects of wit relate to one of the particular charges of Johnson, that the metaphysical poets "lay on the watch for novelty." Criticism has long ago set down their excesses in this direction, but it has failed properly to recognize this watch for novelty as a search for one of the essentials of all poetry—surprise.[18] Johnson in his discus-

[18] Of course it is the surprise that wears, the surprise that accompanies the imaginative shock and does not disappear at the second reading.

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sion of wit and Coleridge in his account of poetry recognize the value of surprise. Now Donne achieved surprise chiefly through wit, appealing both to intellect and to imagination, and his principal means of getting this surprise was the conceit. The close relation of these three things in Donne, wit, surprise, conceit, accounts for the nature of his immediate influence and reputation in the seventeenth century; but the poetic hazards of the conceit, which often confused Donne's early imitators, should not be allowed to obscure the genuine worth of these elements to poetry in general.

How Donne employed wit for both intellectual and imaginative surprise may be shown in a few illustrations:

> When my grave is broke up againe
> Some second ghest to entertaine, (*The Relique.*)
>
> For if the sinewie thread my braine lets fall
> Through every part,
> Can tye those parts, and make mee one of all; (*The Funerall.*)
>
> And pictures in our eyes to get
> Was all our propagation. (*The Extasie.*)
>
> I could eclipse and cloud them with a winke,
> But that I would not lose her sight so long: (*The Sunne Rising.*)
>
> Hope not for minde in women; at their best,
> Sweetnesse and wit, they'are but *mummy*, possest. (*Love's Alchemy.*)

In these examples the contrast of single words or sudden juxtaposition of ideas is enough to give us a witty or imaginative shock. Such an example as "And pictures in our eyes to get" is both ingenious and imaginative, a combination which Donne and his followers often achieved with astonishing and beautiful results. It is in such combination that the conceit attains to high poetic value; the idea and figure become one, and we have Donne's "Valediction," Bishop King's "Exequy," Herbert's "Pulley," or Marvell's "Coy Mistress." Donne's use of the compasses may have been proposed by ingenuity, but it is justified by imagination, as any figure must be to be successful. Poems like these defeat the critics who have condemned the conceit out of hand for having that touch of the self-conscious which, according to Croce, deprives art of its essential nature; for these poems are moving and sincere. The assertion[14] that the deeper the emotion the simpler

[14] Cf. *Society for Pure English*, Tract No. XI, "Metaphor," I, by E. B.

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must be its figurative expression here breaks down, and the fact seems to be that only the power of emotion limits the complexity of the figures which it may carry. Given this emotional lift, the conceit, though self-conscious, satisfies the exposition of Imagination given by Coleridge.[15] In such poems as those named the conceit is a larger element of surprise and the chief instrument of wit. Since it was the most imitable trait of Donne's verse, it was the most imitated and the chief item in his reputation as a wit. As such, it demands clear definition, the very thing it so easily defies.

What is the peculiar nature of the Donne conceit? We have seen its close relation to wit and poetic surprise; we may find a list of minatory examples in Johnson's *Life of Cowley;* but where are we to find its essence? We may think of it as the shock-troop which Donne used in his revolt against Petrarchianism and in his recreation of the lyric expression of personal experience; we may think of it as the natural expression of an ingenious mind; or we may think of it as an Elizabethan device which Donne turned to account as an instrument of wit and poetic surprise.

Before we attempt an answer we ought to look a little more squarely at the wit we have been considering. Is this wit only the most heterogeneous ideas yoked by violence together? Dr. Johnson himself has given us the germ of an answer; he says, "Their attempts were always analytic; they broke every image into fragments."[16] Now the tool of analysis is reason, and the ordering reason appears in English poetry with Ben Jonson and John Donne, whose reason, though dialectic, was doubtless the ground for mutual respect between him and Jonson. At any rate the rational basis of wit is felt in all metaphysical poetry. T. S. Eliot has defined this wit as "a tough reasonableness beneath the slight lyric grace."[17] One is always conscious of this tough reasonableness in the evolution of Donne's poems and even of his conceits. Breaking images into fragments demands the rational perception of analogies. When this perception is adroit and unemotional, it tickles our reason, and we call it witty; when it is profound and emotional, it stirs our imagination, and we call it imaginative. In

[15] *Biographia Literaria*, chapter XIV.
[16] *Life of Cowley.*
[17] *Homage to John Dryden*, p. 35.

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either case there is a rational basis in the discovery of resemblances and in their development as a poem. Another distinctive mark of Donne's wit is the range of material from which he permitted himself to draw in his perception of analogies; this relates to what he knew. A third mark is the imaginative distance between the things he united, sometimes merely yoked, into an image; this also is related to the width of his knowledge. All three marks distinguish his use of the conceit.

Donne really uses two sorts of conceits. One is what we may call the expanded conceit, which is the exposition of an extended comparison; the other is the condensed conceit, which is a telescoped image that develops the thought by rapid association or sudden contrast. "A Valediction," with its compasses, is a good example of the expanded conceit, and "The Extasie" shows an electric use of the condensed conceit, whose most remarkable employment in sudden contrast appears in the line,

> A bracelet of bright haire about the bone. (*The Relique.*)

The expanded conceit is successful when the idea and figure become one, and the condensed conceit when the image is the very body of the thought. Thus we see the close relation of the conceit to the sensuous thinking of Donne which I have already described. The conceit, playing like a shuttle between his mind and the world, wove the fabric of his thought, and became the pattern in which he united his most disparate knowledge and experience into an image witty or imaginative, novel or compelling, but always rising from a tough reasonableness and often attaining startling insight, with moments of breath-taking beauty. In short, the conceit, with its wit and surprise and bias of reason, suited Donne's mind, his many-sided interests, and his poetic nature. Grierson's belief that shock, surprise, and contradiction in evolution, language, and imagery constitute the essence of Donne's poetry bears witness to the importance of the conceit in the relation we have been discussing. From analysis Donne's conceits achieve synthesis.

Of even more importance is the analytic character of Donne apart from his use of the conceit. Sir Edmund Gosse has said that perhaps we get nearest to the secret of this school "when we say that their object was an application of the psychological method to the

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passions." [18] Dr. Johnson would admit that they dissected a sunbeam with a prism, but never the passions, though their attempts were always analytic. Modern critical opinion, however, is certainly nearer to Gosse, for much of Donne's present fascination, as well as his extraordinary originality, is "his fidelity to emotion as he finds it; his recognition of the complexity of feeling and its rapid alterations and antitheses."

Most of the psychological subtlety we see in Browning, especially in regard to love, is already in Donne, from whom Browning certainly drew much of his philosophy of body and soul. Sidney had told the poet to look in his heart and write, but in a profound way no one but Shakespeare did till Donne. But then, as T. S. Eliot remarks, Donne "looked into a good deal more than the heart"; [19] he looked into the cerebral cortex, the nervous system, and the physical reflexes. It is because he is expressing the whole tangle of his feelings that his poetry has so much psychological realism. After the Petrarchian and pastoral superficialities of the Elizabethan lyric, Donne is shocking in his curious exploration of the soul.

How analysis reigns in Donne's use of the conceit and of psychological method has been suggested, but little has been said of its relation to the evolution of his thought. Mario Praz, one of Donne's newest and ablest critics, in writing of the metaphysical strain in Donne lays chief stress upon the ratiocinative progression of the poem.[20] After analyzing some of his verse, Praz concludes that many of his poems "degenerate into fatiguing and involved labyrinths of thought." [21] According to Praz, the opening lines of "Loves Deitie,"

> I long to talke with some old lovers ghost
> Who dyed before the god of Love was borne,

prepare us by their musical incantation for a poem like Villon's "*Dames du temps jadis*"; [22] whereas we get an argument on unrequited love. This position I, for one, cannot accept. The

[18] *More Books on the Table*, "Metaphysical Poetry," p. 309.

[19] *Homage to Dryden*, p. 33.

[20] *Seicentismo e Marinismo in Inghilterra*. "John Donne-Richard Crashaw," pp. 93 ff.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

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words *talke* and *lovers ghost* prepare us not for a recital of beautiful dead ladies, but for some quest of amatory knowledge; and the second line prepares for the answer which might have come before the reign of Cupid. Surely the wistful mood and meditative music of the opening are as appropriate for unrequited love as for a ballad of beautiful ladies! The development is argumentative and analytic in characteristic fashion, but it does not degenerate into fatiguing and involved labyrinths of thought, however it may seem to drop in lyric pitch. Not a little of this drop is due to the fact that the voice of reason is drowned in the lyric cry of the first lines until we see their purport in those which follow; the rest is due to Donne's deliberate use of the arresting opening.

The analytic and logical development of Donne's poetry is probably at bottom the reason for the assertion that Donne frequently wrote magnificent passages, especially beginnings, but few whole poems. Many feel that his poems degenerate as Praz has described. This is a serious charge, but I believe that its truth has been greatly exaggerated. Suppose we take "The Autumnal" for example. It has been esteemed as a magnificent beginning, with a falling away of lyric expression; it begins with the lines,

> No *Spring*, nor *Summer* Beauty hath such grace,
> As I have seen in one *Autumnall* face.

Now let me quote a line or two at intervals and then the final lines of the poem.[23]

> Here, where still *Evening* is, not *noone*, nor *night;*
> . . . . . .
> *Age* must be lovelyest at the latest day.
> . . . . . .
> Not panting after growing beauties, so,
> I shall ebbe out with them, who home-ward goe.

These lines adumbrate the thought of the poem, its lucid evolution, continuity of mood, color of realism, and recurring lyric reach. Is it too much to say that here is little, if any, falling away in lyric expression? I will admit a blemish or so, but I fail to

[23] The reader is invited to examine the whole poem, which the lack of space keeps me from quoting. With this limitation, I have sought in the examples I give to illustrate the quality of lyric expression that follows the magnificent beginning.

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see why "The Autumnal" is not a whole poem rather than merely a magnificent beginning, and a poem whose logical and esthetic conclusion is worthy of its beginning.

But let me quote another much praised beginning, an additional line or so, and then the end. Let it be from "The good-morrow."

> I Wonder by my troth, what thou, and I
> Did, till we lov'd? were we not wean'd till then?
> . . . . . .
> For love, all love of other sights controules,
> And makes one little roome, an every where.
> . . . . . .
> If our two loves be one, or, thou and I
> Love so alike, that none doe slacken, none can die.

Here again I fail to see the great degeneracy of lyric or logical expression, and neither in this poem nor in "The Autumnal" can I find more than a tough reasonableness beneath the slight lyric grace; certainly there is no fatiguing labyrinth of thought. Furthermore, none of these charges can be proved against such poems as "The Relique," "The Dreame," "The Funerall," and, yes, "The Extasie," or "Lovers infinitenesse"; none save the tough reasonableness which is ever the mark of Donne and which permits his most daring imaginative leaps. We should guard against admitting too many of Donne's poems into the category described by Praz, for Donne's logical development of thought makes his poems hold together with something more than the Jonsonian sense of form; it is a peculiarity of his lyric form which may sometimes be too tough for his song, but which, nevertheless, is something permanently valuable for English poetry. One might say of Donne, as Conrad has said of Proust, "his is a creative art absolutely based on analysis. It is really more than that. He is a writer who has pushed analysis to the point when it becomes creative."[24] But no matter how analytic Donne may be, he puts his material together again in a new unity based on a logical substructure and defined by a dominant mood.

I wonder how many of those who read "Sweetest love, I do not goe" realize the subtle logic from which its crystal music flows. Even in this song Donne employs his argumentative evolution of

[24] *Marcel Proust, An English Tribute*, London, 1923.

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thought while he applies his analysis to leave-taking. Perhaps I shall be pardoned a paraphrase of the thought of so lovely a song for the sake of catching this side of Donne's lyric genius. This is the lover's argument: "Sweetest love, I do not leave you because I tire of you or hope for better love, but because I should learn to die, since once I must, by taking leave of you. Last night the sun left, and now has returned for no reason at all; so do not fear for me who take more reasons than he. How feeble is man who cannot prolong good fortune by a single hour but must always increase misfortune with his own strength! When you grieve, you grieve my very self away; you cannot love me as you say, if you waste me whose best part is you. So do not anticipate any ill for me, lest destiny fulfil it; but think we have only gone to sleep; thus keeping one another alive, we shall never be parted." Here is a perfectly linked chain of thought, leading to a conclusion that is dependent on all that goes before, giving the music a kind of harmonic progression, and building our satisfaction in the lovely song on a basis of the hardest mathematics. Nothing is more characteristic of Donne than the way in which thought gives a mathematical basis to the music of his emotions. The crystalline logic of his poetry is comparable to the score of music, and to certain minds it gives a pleasure similar to that of reading a musical score as opposed to hearing it.

In "Lovers infinitenesse" a subtler logic leads to a subtler conclusion in the psychology of love, but the music carries it into our emotional understanding no less surely. That the method of analysis came into congenial and adroit hands with Donne is a matter of literary history; for ever since the time of Carew the critics have testified to his "universall monarchy of wit" and in later times to "the new psychological curiosity with which he writes of love and religion."[25] Only Shakespeare among Elizabethan song-writers and sonneteers can show anything like the depth and range of feeling and psychological perception which we find in Donne.

When we approach the technical side of Donne's verse, we come upon another paradox of his which has bewildered, enraged, or enchanted posterity. Ben Jonson, friend and admirer of Donne,

[25] *Introduction to Metaphysical Poetry*, p. xiv.

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raised the first dissenting voice when he declared to Drummond of Hawthornden that "Donne, for not keeping of accent, deserved hanging"; and he added confusion to condemnation when he asserted that Donne was "the first poet in the world in some things." The charge of not keeping accent applies least to the lyrics and most to the satires; the miscellaneous poems occupy a middle ground. The metrical felicity of the lyrics makes the most violent contrast with the cacophony of the satires,[26] bringing to a focus the prosodic puzzle of Donne. The harsh or rugged quality of much of Donne's verse has brought forth many theories ambitious to explain away the mystery. Let me state several of these theories so that the problem may come to us in better perspective. Saintsbury sees in Donne's practice "a rather irresponsible experiment";[27] Fletcher Melton discovers the key to the puzzle in Donne's use of the same sound now in *arsis* and now in *thesis;*[28] Grierson describes the secret as "the troubling of the regular fall of the verse stresses by the intrusion of rhetorical stress on syllables which the metrical pattern leaves unstressed, and, secondly, an echoing and re-echoing of similar sounds parallel to his fondness for resemblances in thoughts and things apparently the most remote from one another";[29] Mario Praz believes that, except for the satires, Donne's poetry was nearly always written on the rhythmical basis of the stanza rather than of the single verse;[30] while T. S. Eliot observes that English verse at the beginning of the seventeenth century reveals the "constant evasion and recognition of regularity."[31] All these theories have their truth, and each may at some moment seem the vademecum to this disturbing verse; but there may be a larger factor which accounts for these items and yet escapes our notice.

I mean simply the astringent effect of intellect on the facility of verse. A mind so original and personal as Donne's is bound to shape its language significantly; indeed, it is from his language

[26] Probably explained by the Elizabethan notion that satire should be roughly written.

[27] *History of English Prosody*, vol. II, p. 165.

[28] *The Rhetoric of John Donne's Verse.* Baltimore, 1906.

[29] *Introduction to Metaphysical Poetry*, p. xxiv.

[30] *John Donne-Richard Crashaw*, pp. 138 ff.

[31] "Reflections on Vers Libre," *New Statesman*, 3 March, 1917.

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that we deduce these adjectives. Now intellect and psychological integrity stamp Donne's verse, and constantly remind us that his meaning was paramount with him. Although there is little doubt of the revolt and experiment in Donne, these facts themselves find their sufficient cause in the character of his mind. Since verse places its accents on the sounds and not on the sense, and since intellect places its accents on the sense and not on the sounds, we need not be surprised that Donne's poetry is found to serve two masters. On the rare occasions when sound and sense coincide in a compelling emotion he gives us those things for which Ben Jonson declared him the first poet in the world; on the more common occasions when sound is sacrificed a little to sense he frequently gives us astounding things; but when, as in the satires, sound is sacrificed almost altogether to sense he gives us the jarring monstrosities which even his admirers cannot quite condone. Coupled with his paradoxical and audacious spirit, it is intellect, the source of his famous wit, which produces the astringent effect that draws to his verse the epithets of harsh and rugged; this astringency was part of the natural response of his mind to the even fatal facility of Petrarchianism. It is a result of the reassertion of subject-matter in poetry. Only one thing could release this astringency and carry his thought to marvellous music, and that was the compelling emotion which gives us the finest of his love songs and divine poems.

Those who are skeptical may recall the well-known case of Shakespeare's verse in his last plays. The packed verse of these plays, with its increasing obscurity and tendency to depart from the iambic pentameter norm, is a clear case of the disturbing influence of growing complexity of thought. The more Shakespeare approaches the density of Donne, the more irregular and difficult he becomes. Parallel, too, is the complexity of sentence structure in the effort to be faithful to thought and feeling. Even in the couplet Donne uses the run-on line which Shakespeare uses increasingly in blank verse. In short, the growing presence of intellect in Shakespeare's verse brings irregularity, density, and more difficult syntax; or similar phenomena, however different in degree, to those we find in Donne.

While one may say that if Donne's intellect rebelled against the discipline of verse, the less poet he; one dare not say quite the

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same thing of Shakespeare. Moreover, it is true that in one remarkable way verse triumphed over the natural tendency of Donne's intellect; that is in his use of the song where the sonnet would have been more natural. His passionate argumentative evolution of thought seems by its very nature to call for the meditative movement of the sonnet; but it actually comes to us, in its most enthralling form, in the winged movement of the song. While the song is less suited to his intellect, it gives a more electric quality to his passionate intensity and a more dazzling effect to his leaping and soaring imagination; and we must remember that, unruly as his intellect was, his passion and imagination were imperious in their demands. Donne's thought is thus given wings; but his imagination does not rush pell-mell through its song, for it obeys the compelling mathematics of the argument and, with all its Dionysian intensity, reaches the resolution of a logical progression. Donne's use of the song brings us back to the realization how impossible it is to isolate his faculties.

With this relation of Donne's verse to his mind, I return to an analysis of the peculiarities of that verse. Certain devices that serve to emphasize his paradox and meaning may be discovered in his verse; they may be taken as the conscious stylistic effects of a significant mind embodying itself in verse. One such device Mr. Fletcher Melton has found in the alternate length and shortness of the same syllable, but I am not sure that this is so much the key to a new prosody as it is a means of rousing the reader to the meaning of the verse. Associated with this is the echoing of similar sounds throughout a passage. This repetition, acting as a subtle variation of the refrain in poetry, is both a means of emphasis and a means of creating and sustaining a mood or atmosphere. Perhaps no line in Donne could be a more pregnant text than

> When thou knew'st what I dreamt, when thou knew'st when.
> (*The Dreame.*)

Besides illustrating the devices I have mentioned, this line shows the trick, common enough in Elizabethan dramatic verse, of beginning and ending a line with the same sound, and employs a colloquial turn of phrasing in its use of *what* and *when*. This colloquial turn of phrasing seems to be part of a desire of Donne's to come as close to direct unconventional speech as possible, a desire

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which doubtless sprang from the psychological integrity of his mind and united with the paradoxical nature of his thought.

Although Donne is not elliptical as compared with Browning, his sentence structure is often difficult, and the path of his thought is generally tortuous enough to retard the natural flow of song. This tortuousness is no vice, but a fidelity to thought and feeling, which often intrudes the rhythm of prose, accenting the sense and not the sound, to the wrenching of the metrical rhythm and the startling of the mind. In this intrusion one is often reminded of the great rhetorical prose of the sermons which held their audiences as if under a spell, and to the willing ear this reminder brings something of their massive music. It is only because the two rhythms coincide as often as they do that we get the soaring flight in difficult syntax. Donne, who was so great in self-knowledge, was not without self-knowledge in regard to his verse. Unless we take the following lines as conventional self-depreciation in an egoist who seldom felt that need, we may see in them an intimation of what I have been saying of the relation of his verse to his mind:

> Hast thee harsh verse, as fast as thy lame measure
> Will give thee leave, to him, my pain and pleasure.
> I have given thee, and yet thou art too weake,
> Feete, and a reasoning soule and tongue to speake.[22]

The reasoning soul of Donne's verse is, I believe, the principal source of its peculiarities, its glories and defects.

The conceit and its relation to Donne's wit, surprise, and way of thinking I have dealt with. A related problem is his use of language in general. Donne shocks the eye and ear with homely words and colloquial turns of phrase, and surprises with the contrast of learned words; but his staple vocabulary is marked by the purity common to the seventeenth century lyric. Such colloquial phrasing as "For God's sake hold your tongue," "And we said nothing all the day," or "What I will say, I will not tell thee now," are numerous and typical; such homely words as *whining, rags, snorted,* and *itchy* mark even his love songs and divine poems; and learned words like *interinanimates, hydroptique, sublunary, trepidation,* come into the music of his finest verse. Both his words

[22] *Letters to Several Personages*—"To M. T. W."

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and phrases vary from the simple and realistic to the fantastic and bizarre; his range is nearly compassed in

Get with child a mandrake roote. (*Song.*)

And yet with all his strange mixture, Donne was master of a diction equally appropriate to his prose and verse. How important this is appears in the fact that the Metaphysicals were masters of the so-called "neutral style" in the seventeenth century.

The last phase of our analysis of Donne's poetry, and perhaps the first to impress a modern, is what Donne knew. Great as Milton was in learning, Donne was greater. In knowledge of the world they cannot be compared. Of all the explorers of the soul who come within the seventeenth century, Donne, and not Milton, deserves to stand nearest to Shakespeare. And the two subjects in which he went deepest are those which try the understanding most—love and religion. From these twin sources in Donne flow significant currents in English poetry. Love poetry could never be quite the same after him, and religious verse that is also poetry descends from him.

Much of the nature of Donne's poetry is determined by what he knew. From the first his "hydroptic, immoderate thirst of human learning" carried him into realms of knowledge and to interests rather strange to the poetry of his time. Knowledge was a passion with him; each adventure in learning must have brought to him the frenzy of emotion which visited Keats upon opening Chapman's *Homer*. Ordinarily we think that knowledge in poetry has been consciously vitalized by the poet; but with Donne knowledge must have come living into his mind. Mr. Murry's book on Keats and Shakespeare [33] has shown us the desire in young Keats for knowledge received in an organic way, received, as it were, alive into the mind. Thus knowledge came to Donne. Only this sensuous and emotional apprehension of thought can account for the extraordinary mingling of what Donne learned from books with what he learned from life—a mingling so natural and spontaneous that he finds all he knows mixed up with his love and religion, and all he has lived part and parcel of what he knows. Handling

[33] *Keats and Shakespeare.* London, 1925. See especially chapters V and IX.

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ideas must have been almost a physical experience to Donne, like caressing a shoulder or drinking wine. No better proof of his unified sensibility could be wanted than his "Anniversaries," in which all he knows and all he has lived are boldly mingled with the character and death of Elizabeth Drury. The suggestion of Dante's interfusion of the love of woman and philosophy is not irrelevant here.

Donne knew Medieval Scholasticism and Theology, Dante and Rabelais, the New Learning, French and Italian influences, the old physics, the new science of Copernicus, Galileo, and Bacon, and all that a profound psychological curiosity could gather from the experiences of an eventful life. His was one of those prodigious intellects which take all learning for their province, and one of those even rarer minds whose very thinking is poetical. How organic his thinking was appears again in the way in which the most abstract thought becomes a concrete or sentient thing in his poetry, acquires a local habitation and a name, and is perceived by us through the lattices of eyes and the labyrinths of ears. And the profound unity of his sensibility is a condition of his amazing power to see resemblances, because the whole content of his mind, so various and extraordinary, is indissolubly one and incredibly connected. Associated with this power, the width of his knowledge accounts for the unusual imaginative distance between the elements of his images, and the depth of his knowledge accounts for those hyperboles which are not prompted by strong feeling or the spirit of paradox. This imaginative distance is what startles us in his conceits and hyperboles, or makes us pause to consider the figure in itself and so provoke the thought of self-consciousness. The nature of Donne's mind, with its unity in variety, also conditions his use of images drawn from daily experience or scientific knowledge, what Praz regards as "the too near at hand and the too remote." [34] For Donne such restrictive terms did not exist; and the history of poetry, with its changing incidental subject-matter, should make one very chary of putting restrictions to poetic imagery.

The subject-matter of Donne's poetry is principally love and religion, to which he brought immense learning, variety of mood,

[34] *John Donne-Richard Crashaw*, p. 121.

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and perhaps one dominating idea. His range from sensual to mystical conceptions of love is an old story, but less hackneyed is the relation of this range to his religious thought. This relation involves another relation which is his dominating idea, the relation of soul to body, or the theme of "The Extasie" and, in one way or another, of so much of his poetry. In Donne's thought the body acquires a new worth which affects both his conception of love and his religious thinking. Nothing in his religious speculation is more striking than his fear of death, which is peculiarly physical in its dread of the "wormy circumstance" of dissolution. Here in Donne's thought we find a cold sensuality of the grave which shows us that even his religious aspirations could not shake off the dear enchantment of the flesh except by inverting it in physical repulsion. Just as Donne could ascend to the spiritual in his most physical conception of love, so in his religious thought he could not escape the implication of the body. For the body gives intense meaning to love and death, while death asks the most poignant questions of love and religion. This explains the great place given to death in his poetry, culminating in those magnificent poems to death, the "Anniversaries."

Those who see Donne's life sharply and rather inexplicably divided between profane love and sacred love may find in this soul-body relation some of the unity which they miss; for Donne, whether the priest of Apollo or of God, is always a poet of the same essential nature, and this ruling concept of his arises from his unified sensibility and corresponds to his organic way of thinking. In his life as in his poems all his moods are implicit in the mood dominant at a given moment: the priest is in the lover, and the lover in the priest; the divine poem is implicit in the love song, and the love song in the divine poem. A concrete example of this implication is the way in which the most typical mood of Donne, the mood of the charnel house, invades both his love songs and his divine poems. The importance and relevance of this mood to Donne should be apparent from the line of thought we have been following.

Another source of perplexity in Donne's poetry is its difficulty. A subtle and complex mind, devoted to the psychological realism which baffled Donne's early imitators and often exercises his readers, is responsible for the charge of obscurity which has been made

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against his poetry. Careful reading will not justify this charge, but will show that Donne's difficulty is almost the opposite of obscurity: a question of too much light rather than the lack of light. Swinburne has made a clear distinction between obscurity and difficulty in his essay on Chapman: "The difference between the two is the difference between smoke and lightning; and it is far more difficult to pitch the tone of your thought in harmony with that of a foggy thinker than with that of one whose thought is electric in its motion." He adds that the latter's "forked flashes of fancy and changing lights of thought move unerringly around one centre and strike straight in the end to one point." [85] A better description of Donne's poetry could scarcely be found, and his difficulty is precisely of the sort this electric thought entails. When his forked flashes of fancy strike, they stun us with the very energy of their motion, but as their light spreads out we see broad sweeps of thought which a moment before were buried in darkness. It is this quality of Donne's verse that brings his admirers to a pitch of enthusiasm which loses itself in wonder. This light, flashing in the mind, and moments of massive and haunting music are enough to reduce the barriers which criticism has raised to keep the strange genius of Donne apart from the tradition of English poetry.

Before criticism began setting up these barriers with the opinions of Dryden, Donne had made his own tradition in seventeenth-century poetry and Dryden had known its glamour. The Metaphysical School which descended from Donne gave the obvious character to his poetry that criticism has been prone to accept, but his disciples were conscious of more in the master than they were able to imitate. To Dr. Johnson their imitation appeared to carry them, and Donne, outside the direct current of English poetry, which for Johnson had well-defined banks. But what Donne meant to the Metaphysicals is much nearer to the character his influence has taken in poetry since them, and much truer in its judgment of his worth to the English poetic tradition. Fortunately we have an excellent criticism of his poetry made by a contemporary who was enough of his school to be sympathetic and enough of Ben Jonson's to know classical restraint: I refer to

[85] *Contemporaries of Shakespeare.* London, 1919, p. 27.

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Carew's "Elegie upon the death of the Deane of Pauls, Dr. John Donne." In this elegy we shall find what must have been a pretty general view of Donne expressed with more feeling than is usual in Carew. Nothing could be more useful for our understanding of the Donne tradition as it arose.

Carew first laments that Donne's fire, both as Apollo's and the true God's priest, must be desired forever, and describes his thinking as the heat and light that

> Did through the eye the melting heart distill;
> And the deepe knowledge of darke truths so teach,
> As sense might judge, what phansie could not reach.

Unless I mistake, this is exactly the sort of thinking I have been trying to point out in Donne: that sensuous embodiment of thought which came naturally from his sensuous and emotional apprehension and made sensuously apparent the darkest subtleties of his mind. This is the felt thought of Donne which one must grasp before any real understanding of his genius is possible; and Carew penetrates the secret, which Johnson misses altogether.

Carew next refers to Donne's revolt against Elizabethan imitation and his general service to poetry:

> The Muses garden with Pedantique weedes
> O'rspred, was purg'd by thee; The lazie seeds
> Of servile imitation throwne away;
> And fresh invention planted.

Going on, he describes how poets were expected to be possessed with Pindar's fury, not their own, and to practice "The subtle cheat Of slie Exchanges" with the classics—perhaps a dig at Jonson. Donne's fresh invention was to be possessed with his own fury and to draw upon experience and originality, or

> from those bare lands
> Of what is purely thine.

Carew heralds Donne as one who has enlarged the domain of poetry and has

> open'd Us a Mine
> Of rich and pregnant phansie, drawne a line
> Of masculine expression.

This mine was psychological experience as well as new sources of

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imagery discovered in it. The line of masculine expression came from Donne's effort to achieve significant expression in language; the struggle of his intellect with its medium is described by Carew, who recognizes that Donne's language lacks the "tun'd chime" which may charm the outward sense of posterity, but asserts

> Yet thou maist claime
> From so great disadvantage greater fame,
> Since to the awe of thy imperious wit
> Our stubborne language bends, made only fit
> With her tough-thick-rib'd hoopes to gird about
> Thy Giant phansie, which had prov'd too stout
> For their soft melting Phrases.

Here Carew recognizes not only the struggle of an imperious mind to achieve itself in language but also the astringent effect which that mind had on the soft melting phrases of the Petrarchians. Thus Donne achieved a music of ideas which charms the inward sense.

The fear that the gods and goddesses whom Donne had exiled will be recalled is voiced by Carew, and that classical tales again

> Shall stuffe their lines, and swell the windy Page,
> Till Verse refin'd by thee, in this last Age
> Turne ballad rime.

For their return poetry had not long to wait. Indeed the simple measures which Donne and his school had subtilized till the same metre could give the wonderfully various music of Marvell's "Coy Mistress" and Crashaw's "Saint Teresa" did turn ballad rime in the less varied music of the classical couplet.

When we finish Carew's lament for the late king of the universal monarchy of wit, we realize that we have been reading excellent criticism. If Carew gives us the sympathetic contemporary view of the Donne tradition, and there is no reason to doubt it, he gives us a view that presents much less to quarrel with than that which Dr. Johnson gives. Calling attention to the sensuous thinking in Donne, his revolt against Elizabethan imitation, his introduction of new subject-matter and sources of imagery, his astringent intellect and its masculine music, his fire and giant fancy and subtilized verse, Carew gives his poetry an abler and more modern analysis than either Dryden or Johnson achieved, and presents

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us with a lucid account of the Donne tradition as it began its career of influence.

The tradition which has appeared to us under the pen of Carew has often been denied, and even its possibility has been questioned by critics who have held that a lesser genius than Donne could not be successful in his style. But Carew, whose *Elegie* is so full of tribute to the fertilizing power of Donne's genius, recognized the difficulty of following Donne when he wrote:

> **But thou art gone, and thy strict lawes will be**
> **Too hard for Libertines in Poetrie.**

And where success is difficult, but not impossible, the Metaphysical Poets adventured; others have followed them; and so the tradition has been established. To justify it, Marvell should be enough, but justification is not lacking in English poetry from Bishop King to T. S. Eliot. The nature of this tradition may be concisely defined as complex, sensuous, and intellectual as opposed to the simple, sensuous, and passionate tradition, if we remember that it does not exclude the rapture or passion of Sappho and Catullus. This may be not to define it at all.

What this influence meant for the seventeenth century, and came to mean for later times, in the practice of poets must be added to any estimate of the Donne tradition and its place in English poetry. Over its father, as if to challenge posterity, looms the admiring shadow of Ben Jonson, who gave the same high homage only to Shakespeare and who never condescended to John Donne. It is with the other Johnson that criticism must chiefly rest its quarrel, though not without admiration.

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THE GENII OF SPENSER

By E. C. KNOWLTON

It is not sufficient for poets, to be superficial humanists: but they must be exquisite artists, and curious universal scholars.

—G. Harvey's *Marginalia*.

The present study is intended to supplement previous examinations of the allegorical figure Genius,[1] and to make specific application to the employment of it by Spenser. Genius in the well-known classical tradition[2] was a second self who accompanied a man from birth, a divine element supporting other elements in him. Just as a genius was associated with each man (and a juno with each woman), so a Genius might be attached to a place and, representing a mystery or a divine quality, might stand for a unifying principle inherent in the place. To-day, rationalized, the *genius loci* permeates the dominant atmosphere of a scene such as is employed in Stevenson's *The Merry Men* or it allies itself with the unfriendly alien forces which press in upon a Dutch community of Java, as in Couperus's *The Hidden Force*. Genius in the case of a Roman emperor was extolled by worship,

[1] "The Allegorical Figure Genius," *Class. Philol.*, XV (1920), 380-84; *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIX (1924), 89-95.

[2] Most extensive discussions of Genius for classical literature are by W. F. Otto in the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie d. class. Altertumswissenschaft*, "Genius," (cf. Georg Wissowa, *Handbuch d. class. Altertumswissenschaft*, "Religion und Kultus der Römer," München, 1912, pp. 174 ff.); Charles Daremberg and Edmund Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, "Genius"; Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, "Nature (Roman)," p. 247. The Greek theory is that the δαίμων stands between gods and men and acts as an intermediary; the same relationship holds for Genius, the Latin equivalent in Roman and mediaeval literature, including the vernacular. An interesting study might be made of the conception that "character is fate" as it appears in Greek literature and later; this would involve the view of Charisius (ed. Keil, p. 32) that Genius is ἡ τύχη ἑκάστου (H. E. Elmer, ed. Terence's *Phormio*, Boston, 1901, p. 158, l. 44). An important discussion of δαίμων occurs in J. T. Sheppard, Introd. to his edition of *Oedipus Tyrannus* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. xxxv-xl. A brief consideration of the origin of Genius is offered by E. Elster, *Prinzipien der Litteraturwissenschaft*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1897-1911), I, 104 ff. A good brief note on 2, 3, *Satires*, A. Persius Flaccus, ed. B. L. Gildersleeve (New York, 1875).

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and exercised the functions of helping the people as a god would do and of impersonating his *felicitas;* on less happy occasions, it was placated for the sake of the temperament which made Caligula distinctively Caligula.[3] Again, distinguishing *populus* from *imperium,* we speak of racial genius. And it is further possible for us to understand through "genius" the Stoic doctrine which correlates the theory of public law with the law of human nature.[4]

I have previously traced some aspects of Genius as a general principle or functionary of the universe. The figure was notable in the Latin literature of the twelfth century, the French literature of the thirteenth, and in the English literature of the fourteenth, and was associated more particularly with the writings of Alan of Lille, Jean de Meun, and Gower. The character persisted in French literature till the sixteenth century, when a current of mediaeval "Platonism" encountered another of Renaissance, or Italianate "Platonism," and joined in the doctrine that reason and the higher sort of love should be preferred to sensuality and lust. With these facts in mind, an immediate objective is to develop more thoroughly the background for Spenser's employment of Genius and to illustrate some passages in the *Faerie Queene.* Before reaching the main application to Spenser, I give material from several writers of the early Christian era who were

[3] Tertullian, *Apologeticus,* Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* I, cols. 447-448 (ch. XXXII) objects to swearing by the genii of Caesars partly because genii are "daemones." As he shows here and also in ch. XXII, he regards genii hostilely; he believes that the daemonion of Socrates dissuaded him from doing good. One may compare in the same volume, col. 1045, the *Dissertatio* (on the *Apologeticus*) written by Denis-Nicolas le Nourry (1647-1724), wherein for genius he refers to Fustus, *De Significat.,* Bk. XX; Servius *in lib. I, Georg.* and *in lib. VI Aeneid;* Varro, cited also by Augustine, *de civit.* VII, ch. 13; Lipsius, *I, Physiologiae Stoicorum,* Vol. IV, ch. 19; *Natalis Comes, Mythologiae,* Bk. IV, ch. 3; Vossius, *Orig. et Progr. idolot.,* Bk. I, ch. 18. Cf. Persius, *Sat.,* V, 98. A valuable note by A. Pretor in his edition (Cambridge, 1907) compares the passage with Propertius, IV, ii, 47, "Mi natura dedit leges a sanguine ductas," and equates the laws with the ἄγραπτα νόμιμα of Sophocles (*Antigone,* 454 f.) and the ἄγραφοι νόμοι of Thucydides (II, 37). Cf. ed. 3d, rev., H. Nettleship (Oxford, 1893).

[4] It may be added that emphasis is laid on a creative function in genius in Isidore, *Etymologiae,* ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), Bk. VIII, ch. xi, sect. 88.

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well known to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and then examine several encyclopaedic discussions or comments during the Renaissance.

I

Servius (late fourth century) in his commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid,* VI, 743, asserted that when we are born, we are allotted two Genii.[5] One exhorts to good things, the other depraves.

Martianus Capella (early fifth century) in his *Nuptiae Philologiae et Mercurii*[6] confirmed the distinction between good and bad genii by speaking thus of the Manes, "quos ἀγαθούς et κακοὺς δαίμονας memorat Graia discretio." Again he grouped Genius with Mars and Vulcan.[7] In a later passage Jupiter speaks of Genius as a faithful reflex and interpreter of his mind.[8] But the important explanation of Genius afforded by this didactic work appears in Book II.[9] On request Juno herself gives the information about the guardian spirit which attends each mortal from birth and so indicates a higher will that may be called an Angelus:

> Sed quoniam unicuique deorum superiorum singuli quique deseruiunt, ex illorum arbitrio istorumque comitatu et generalis omnium praesul et specialis singulis mortalibus Genius admovetur, quem etiam Praestitem, quod praesit gerundis omnibus, vocaverunt; nam et populi Genio, cum generalis poscitur, supplicatur, et unusquisque gubernatori proprio dependit obsequium ideoque dicitur Genius, quoniam cum quis hominum genitus fuerit, mox eidem copulatur hic tutelator fidissimusque germanus animos omnium mentesque custodit, et quoniam cogitationum arcana superae annuntiat potestati, etiam Angelus poterit nuncupari. Hos omnes Graeci daemonos dicunt ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίομέου Latini Medioximos vocitarunt.

The Christian authors at times expressed hostility to the classi-

[5] *Servius Grammatici . . . in Vergilii Aeneidos Libros VI-VIII Commentarii,* ed. G. Thilo, Lipsiae, 1883.

[6] Ed. Adolfus Dick (Lipsiae, 1925), *Lib.* II, 163. Doctrines which are partly comparable occur in Plutarch's *Moralia,* as in "Why the Oracles Cease to Give Answers," "Of Fate," "On the Face Appearing in the Orb of the Moon." One function of a 'daemon' is to care for oracles, and thus to perform an intermediary service between gods and men. It is possible for a daemon to commit error and therefore to be punished. Cf. further, Apuleius, *De Philosophia Libri,* ed. Paul Thomas (Lipsiae, 1908), *passim,* but especially XV.

[7] *Lib.* I, 49-53.

[8] *Lib.* I, 92.

[9] *Lib.* II, 152.

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cal beliefs in genius. Prudentius (348-405),[10] for instance, criticized the multiplicity of *genii*. His general attitude was to oppose and to satirize the notion that the city of Rome had a genius. A more important man for the present purpose was Lactantius (260?-325?), who in his defense of Christianity, Divine Institutes, attacked many pagan beliefs. In Book II,[11] he dealt with the corruption of angels and developed the theme of the two kinds of demons, one sort of which is of heaven and the other of earth. The latter are wicked spirits and lay claim to the name of *genii*. Significantly Lactantius declared that the art and the power of the Magi consist in the influences of evil aspirations concerning man. They cloud the sight of men with deceptive illusions, so that they see what does not exist. This theory we may apply to details in Spenser, for such is the baleful function of Archimago (in Bks. I, II) and of several other characters in the *Faerie Queene*. Thus we have not only an episode such as that of Busirane and the Mask of Cupid (Bk. III) but the characters of the Duessa-Fidessa (Bks. I-V) and the false Florimell (Bks. III, IV).

The first centuries of our era show that the pagan writers and the Christian agreed in two types of genii. The former on the whole dwelt on the virtuous type; the latter employed apologetic strategy in emphasizing the insidious type. When Alan of Lille wrote in the twelfth century, he developed at great length the virtuous type in accord with his Christian stoicism. Having considered elsewhere some consequences of his treatment, I will pass to the Italian Renaissance.

II

The Renaissance, as well as the Middle Ages, was illuminated by many works of an encyclopaedic nature. Among a number of handbooks of mythology appeared the *περὶ Γενεαλογίας Deorum*[12]

[10] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LX, cols. 213-214, *Lib.* II *contra Symmachum*. The note refers to a number of writers about *genii*, including Censorinus. In the *Hamartigenia*, l. 623, Prudentius employed "daemon" unfavorably (*Opera omnia*, I, Londini, 1824).

[11] Chapters XV ff. The English translation, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Buffalo, 1886), Vol. VII, p. 64, has a reference to a discussion in Lewis, *Plato*, p. 347. Augustine, whom for a special reason I consider later, was influenced by Lactantius.

[12] An excellent edition appeared in Paris, 1511; another at Basel, 1532.

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of Boccaccio. Under the topic of "Lares," he offered consideration of Genius, naming as sources Censorinus,[13] Gaius Flaccus, the Socratic Euclid, and Annaeus Florius.[14] The last two affirmed that for each man there is both a good and a bad genius. Boccaccio continued to the effect that Christianity holds for a good and a bad angel.[15] The Latin follows:

. . . quos aliique genium vel genios vocavere nonnulli dixere lares ut paulo ante dictum est. Et ut Censorinus asserit in libro de natali die: ubi vult eum dici genium: seu qua ut gignamur curat: seuqua una nobiscum gignatur: seu que genitos semper tueatur: & eundem esse genium & larem dicit a multis veteribus affirmatum & potissime a Caio Flacco: eo in libro quem Caesari de indigitamentis scriptum reliquit. Et esto que unum tantum dicat genium seu larem in subsequentibus adjicit opinionem Euclidis Socratici duplicem omnibus appositum genium: & sic duo sunt unicuique lares opinione veterum. Quod satis firmari videtur auctoritate Annei Florij scribentis i. iiij. Epithomatis sui sic. Ipsique Bruto per noctem cum illato lumine ex more aliquo secum agitaret: atra quaedam imago se obtulit: & quae esset interrogata: tuus inquit malus genius hoc & sub oculis mirantis evanuit &c. Qui quidem non adiecisset malus nisi & bonus alter esset: & sic duo. Christiana veritas angelos vocat: non cum nascente genitos: sed natu sociatos. Quorum alter bonus in bonum semper urget quem servat: alter autem malus in contrarium nititur: & quasi bonorum malorumque nostrorum observatores & testes in mortemusque assistunt continui.

Boccaccio's work was translated into Italian as *Geneologia degli dei* by Gioseppe Betussi da Bassano, Venice, 1564.[16]

Several other encyclopaedists during the Renaissance drew up stock accounts of genius. Among the Italians was "Natalis

The passage on *genius* occurs in *Lib. Duodecimus, cap.* LXV. I may add that the old man of the passage in Claudian's *De Consulatu Stilichonis, Lib.* II, 424 ff., to which I made reference in *Class. Philol., op. cit.*, is considered by Boccaccio (*Lib. Primus*, cap. I) to be the true God.

[13] Cf. Censorinus, *De die natali*, ed. F. Hultsch (Leipzig, 1867), pp. 4 ff.

[14] Elsewhere Boccaccio rehearsed many sources, among which were Cicero, Ovid, Statius, Virgil, Livy, Persius, Lactantius, Martianus Capella, Macrobius, Claudian, Josephus, Theodontius, Fulgentius, Rhaban Maur, Remy of Auxerre, Vincent of Beauvais, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Dante,—names significant as suggesting the range of his encyclopaedic material.

[15] Cf. the sixth mandate in a very early Christian document, "The Shepherd of Hermas," *The Apostolic Fathers*, J. B. Lightfoot, ed. by J. R. Harmer (London, 1898).

[16] Another edition in 1569 and another revised and corrected in 1588.

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Comes," as Natale Conti (1520-1582) wished to be known. According to his *Mythologiae,* which appeared in Venice, 1551,[17] Genius was the son of Jove and Terra, by the authority of Pausanias, and was called Agdistes. (Conti included a reference to Horace, and perhaps was following out Boccaccio in some of the discussion). Moreover, individual men had from birth a good and a bad daemon, or genius, as again Pausanias had indicated in connection with the affairs of Ulysses. By another view Genius is said by persuasion and dissuasion "universam vitam nostram gubernare, esseque mentis et voluntatis nostrae prope moderator." His activity is confused, however, by the intrusion of errors due to evil or other genii, lustful, cruel, or miserly. The Socratic Euclid believed in a genius; likewise Socrates did, as Plato often mentioned. Plutarch speaks of one appearing to Brutus also.

In view of Spenser's employment of Conti, it should be added that the latter was not merely a compiler of mythological data. His handbook would have another appeal to Spenser in that he had pointed out, sometimes at length, allegorical or ethical applications[18] of his material. Boccaccio[19] had done so likewise, but not to the extent that Conti carried his suggestions. The latter emphasized the proper conduct for the individual man and the leader in the state; he was concerned for the welfare of the government and of society. In respect to such speculation, use of Conti as a source would confirm a pronounced tendency in Spenser.[20]

[17] Other editions appeared in 1580, 1610, 1612, 1637. I refer to the edition at Geneva. 1596. The passage is in *Lib.* IIII, *cap.* III. An early use of the actual phrase "natale comes" occurs in Horace's *Ep.* 2, 2, 187:

> ecit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum
> naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum
> quodque caput, vultu mutabilis albus et ater.

[18] Bk. X, which offers ethical exposition for all the cases of the survey in the preceding books; VI, xxiii (pp. 565-6) about Paris, and again for him, X (pp. 892-3); II, ii (99-102); the introductions to Bks. VII (p. 570); X (p. 869).

[19] General theory with illustration, I, iii; cf. III, ii (Ops).

[20] To a considerable degree the behavior of characters like Archimago and phenomena like the false Florimell and the masque of Cupid are in keeping with the behavior of evil daemones. We may compare Harvey's letter to Spenser referring to the "Impostura Daemonium," in Pico of Mirandola's *De rerum Praenotione,* VI, vi. Alice E. Sawtelle, *The Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology* (Boston, 1896), notes Spenser's use of

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Similarly appeared in Madrid, 1585, *Philosofia Secreta de la Gentilidad* by Juan Pérez de Moya. He told what is "genio," beginning with Augustine (*Civita,* VII, 13) and Servius.[21] He repeated the possibility of an evil genius and also of a guardian angel ("el Angel de Guarda").

Another Spanish author showed his interest in Genius in a different way. In considering the learned Vives, I must emphasize an important suggestion which Dr. Greenlaw has made to the effect that mediaeval Genius is partly to be derived from accounts of the Mother of the gods and her priests, or *galli.*[22] He emphasizes two special sources[23] of information accessible to mediaeval writers, Ovid's *Fasti,* IV, 245 ff. and Augustine's *City of God,* VII, chs. xvi-xxvi. In the *Fasti,* 348 ff. we have a reference to a high priest, or *archigallus.* An examination of the passage in Augustine leads me to amplify Dr. Greenlaw's discussion. Book VII discusses pagan gods, and from chapter ix the author dwells on Jupiter. In chapter xiii, employing Varro, Augustine equated Jupiter with genius, 'the god who is set over, and has the power of begetting all things;' 'the soul of the world is . . . the universal genius.'

For a better understanding of Spenser's learning in the matter, it is useful to examine a note on Genius for Augustine, VII, 13, written by the Spanish humanist educator, Vives (1492-1540), who wrote a commentary on the *City of God* and addressed it to Henry VIII[24] of England:

Natalis Comes for Geryon, Venus (Adonis), Sea-gods, Titan. Thomas Warton, *Observations on the "Faerie Queene,"* 2 vols. (London, 1807), pp. 109 ff., gives Natalis Comes, IV, iii, as Spenser's source for Genius, and also (pp. 141-2) II, viii, for Astraeus.

[21] *Lib.* II, *cap.* XXXVIII.

[22] Edwin Greenlaw, "Some Old Religious Cults in Spenser," *Stud. in Philol.,* XX (1923), 216-243, especially 231 ff. Cf. the references in Grant Showerman, "The Great Mother of the Gods," *Univ. of Wisconsin Bulletin,* Philology and Literature Series, Vol. I, 220 ff. (Madison, 1901), pp. 238-39, 269. In passing, we may note that so far as we may equate Nature with Cybele, Showerman explains the Great Mother favorably, pp. 300-303.

[23] Lactantius, it may be added, referred to the worship of the Great Mother and to the *galli* in *Divine Institutes,* I, xvii (also xxi, xxii).

[24] Henry's greeting in reply is dated January 1523. The Commentary was first englished by J. H. and appeared in a second edition, revised, London, 1620,—a fact which indicates the success of the work. The note

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Genius is "The lord of all generation, *Fest. Pompey.* The sonne of the gods and the father of men, begetting them: and so it is called my *Genius.* For it begot me: *Aufustius.* The learned have had much to doe about this *Genius,* and finde it manifoldly used. Natures *Genius* is the god that produced her: the heavens have many *Genij,* reade them in Capella his *Nuptiae. Melicerta* is the seas Genius: *Parthen.* The foure elements, fire, ayre, water, and earth are the *Genij* of all things corporall. The *Greekes* call them στοιχεῖα, and θεοὺς γενεθλίους Geniall gods. Such like hath Macrobius of natures *Penates; Jupiter* and *Juno* are the aire, lowest, and meane: Minerva the highest, or the aethereal sky: to which three *Tarquinius Priscus* erected one temple under one roofe. Some call the moone and the 12. signes *Genij:* and chiefe *Genij* too, (for they will have no place without a predominant Genius). Every man also hath his Genius, either that guardeth him in his life, or that lookes to his generation, or that hath originall with him, both at one time: *Censorin. Genius,* and *Lar,* some say are all one. *C. Flaccus de Indigitamentis.* The *Lars* (saith *Ovid*) were twinnes to *Mercury* and *Nymph Lara,* or *Larunda.* Wherefore many Philosophers and *Euclide* for one, gives each man two *Lars,* a good and a bad: such was that which came to *Brutus* in the night, as he was thinking of his warres he had in hand: *Plutarch. Flor. Appian.*"

A glance at the sketch of Boccaccio's treatment shows a strong resemblance to that by Vives, but the latter is more ample.

Vives continued the discussion from another important angle in dealing with the passage where Augustine calls a soul a Daemon (Bk. IX, ch. iii).[25] Vives did not quite know whether, like Apuleius, he might translate Daemon,

> the *Genius,* because that God which is each mans soule, though he be immortall, yet hath originall after a certaine manner with each: and thither tend the praiers wee offer to our *genius* at carnall conjunctions.

Following Hesiod (*Works and Days,* V, 120) and Plato (in *Cratil.*) [who in 32 quotes Hesiod], he spoke also of just and virtuous men of the golden age as Daemones. This passage based on Hesiod suggests the wise philosophers (Aristotle and others) who

begins p. 258. J. H. was John Healey (died 1610). The first edition, published in 1610, was dedicated to William, Earl of Pembroke; the edition of 1620 was dedicated by William Crashaw (father of the poet) to Pembroke and his brother Philip. This is the only English translation of "The City of God" till 1871 ff. Healey, in addition, translated (1610) "Cebes his Table," together with Epictetus.

[25] Pp. 330-331.

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attend on Natura in Jean de Hauteville's *Architrenius*[26] as well as those whose figures are carved on mediaeval cathedrals.

Vives also repeated[27] the statement according to Servius that "each man hath his good *genius* and his bad: viz. reason that effecteth good, and lust evil." The Larva is the evil genius; the Lar, the good one. He referred[28] also to Martianus Capellus, who dealt with good and evil Manes (Greek *ἀγαθούς* and *κακοὺς δαίμονας*). Thus to a generous degree Vives illustrated in his edition of Augustine's *City of God* such a tradition from the ancients and from the Church Fathers as a learned writer of the English Renaissance would be acquainted with. Perhaps Spenser was familiar with the first Latin edition, which would have been notable from the learning of Vives and his prominent association with English affairs earlier in the century. At any rate, if we take Vives with Boccaccio, Conti, and the authors whom they employed, we have a typical background for the learning of Spenser, and in part of the material we have actual sources for him and for other humanists of the time.

III

For his two presentations of Genius, Spenser would have, therefore, a general background of Greek and classical Latin tradition about *δαίμων* (*δαιμόνιον*)[29] and *genius*. Dr. Greenlaw,[30] following in Spenser the clew which refers directly to Alan of Lille, perhaps through Chaucer, has rendered it highly probable that Spenser knew *The Plaint of Nature,* which offers the most extensive Latin treatment of Genius. By pursuing another clew, that appears in Thomas Warton's *Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser,*[31]

[26] Cf. "The Goddess Nature in Early Periods," *Jour. Eng. Germ. Phil.*, XIX (1920), 249-250.

[27] P. 332, after references again to Apuleius and to Censorinus, Cicero, Capella.

[28] Vives dealt somewhat with Daemones in *De Disciplinis* (Lugduni, 1551), pp. 416, 494.

[29] Cf. Harvey's poem,

To my Good Mistresse Anne;
Your servaunts Daemonium shall ridde you of that feare.

[30] "Some Old Religious Cults," pp. 220 ff.

[31] 2 vols., London, 1807, I, 109 ff., I, 114-15, repeated substantially by G. W. Kitchin, edit. of Book II of *Faerie Queene*, 9th ed. (Oxford, 1899), p. 245, notes on canto XII, stanza 47. That Boccaccio's *Generalogia*

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Dr. Greenlaw studied Genius in a work by Natalis Comes (4, 3), in which reference is made to Agdistes, and thus found an association of Genius with the worship of the Great Mother. Warton used Natalis Comes to explain the two types of Genius. Further, in providing another parallel to a Genius as he discussed *Faerie Queene,* III, vi, 31-32, he offered the Greek picture-apologue which was attributed to the sophist Cebes,[32] and which was familiar to schoolboys of the English Renaissance. This behaves in harmony with the dignified scholar of Alan of Lille, and may have confirmed Spenser's favorable impression of one type of Genius.[33]

The doctrine that reason should have supremacy over sensuality was conspicuous in the teaching of Alan of Lille, and it emerges in Spenser's treatment of Genius as it does in the treatment of the

Deorum and *Natalis Comes* were the sources of Spenser's mythology was suggested by M. H. Towry, "Spenser and Boccaccio," *Bibliographer* (London), V (1884), 120. Gavin Douglas refers to John Bocas and his *Genealogy of the Gods*,—an indication of the vogue of the work.

[32] Warton, I, 115-17. Cf. my account in *Class. Philol.* referred to above.

[33] The use of "Genius" by Shakespere is familiar: *Com. Err.*, V, 332; II *Henry IV*, III, ii, 337; *T. Nt.*, III, iv, 142; *J. C.*, II, i, 66; *Tr. Cr.*, IV, iv, 52; *Macb.*, III, i, 56; *Ant. Cl.*, II, iii, 19; *Temp.*, IV, i, 27. Without attempting a complete list, I add parallels: Milton, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, 186; *Arcades*, 62 ff. *Caesar's Revenge* (Malone Society Reprints, 1911), III, ii (of Antony). Tourneur, *The Atheist's Tragedy*, II, vi, Charlemont thinks the influence of his father's ghost, Montferers, to be that of his Genius. (Cf. for the Christian tradition, the Good and the Bad Angel in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus;* the characters of Angelo and Harpax in Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr*). Jonson, *The Case is Altered*, I, ii (Paulo). Several cases of a woman as genius of a country or city occur, as Samuel Daniel, *Civile Wars* (London, 1595), I, 88-92 (cf. III, 61); Massinger, *The Bondman*, I, iii; *Believe as You List*, I, i. Many Jesuit dramas employed Genii of towns and nations as well as of Biblical and historical characters.

Jonson addresses Genius as an aid to the creation of poetry in an ode which appears in the volume of Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester, ed. Carleton Brown, *E. E. T. S.* (1914), p. 5. This item might have been included in Edward Fulton's criticism of the treatment that the *New English Dictionary* affords 'genius,' "The Modern Use of the Word 'Genius,'" *Nation* (New York), 102 (1916), sup. p. 16 (Feb. 16). Moreover, some of the passages which are used by the *Dictionary* to illustrate the usage of the word denoting attendants such as those on Aladdin's lamp, are, it seems to me, clearly of the classical tradition and not of the Oriental.

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French Renaissance. It is closely involved with the doctrine of temperance. Thus Sir Guyon,[34] who represents temperance, passes by the weak porter Genius, "Pleasures porter,"

> *The foe of life*, that good enuyes to all,
> That secretly doth us procure to fall,
> Through guilefull semblaunts, which he makes us see.
> (stanza 48)

who guards the way to the Bower of Bliss,

> A place pickt out by choice of best alive
> That natures worke by art can imitate.
> (stanza 42)

The knight finds the inexperienced and therefore imprudent Verdant to have been seduced by Acrasia. The allegory, as it applies to conduct, opposes sloth and urges activity; Verdant has become oblivious of honor and of the necessity to perform works,[35] and fails to employ his intelligence (cf. stanza 87). This behavior results in infidelity, such as Jason's to Medea. She, on the other hand, fell prey to excessive passion (stanzas 44-45). The allegory, as it applies to art, opposes falsity in landscape or sculpture, which, merely and insincerely imitative of Nature, attempts no organic or constructive outgrowth from the foundation of nature and accordingly is not the art that is nature.[36] The poet appropriately associated the misleading Genius with illusory surroundings, and made explicit the distinction from the proper Genius:

> They in that place him Genius did call:
> *Not that celestial powre, to whom the care*[37]

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[34] II, xii, 42 ff.; some material is from Tasso, R. E. Neil Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," *P. L. M. A.*, XX (1897), p. 196.

[35] A confirmation of the ideal appears in IV, vii, 23: Belphoebe was hunting,

> as was her wonted joy
> To banish sloth, that oft doth noble mindes annoy.

This ideal belongs not merely to chivalry; it is, for instance, reiterated by Spenser's scholarly friend, Gabriel Harvey, in his *Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1913), pp. 141, 145, 149-50, 157.

[36] The doctrine that Art is part of Nature is familiar from the dialogue between Perdita and Polixenes in *The Winter's Tale*, IV, iv. Cf. Harvey's *Marginalia*, *op. cit.*, p. 156, "Art, little worth, unless it be transformed into Nature."

[37] I italicize passages important for the present discussion.

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Of life, and generation of all
That lives, pertaines in charge particulare,
Who wondrous things concerning our welfare,
And straunge phantomes doth let us oft forsee,
And oft of secret ill bids us beware:
That is our Selfe, whom though we do not see,
Yet each doth in him selfe it well perceive to bee.
(stanza 47)

Therefore a God him sage Antiquity
Did wisely make, and good Agdistes call.
But this same was to that quite contrary.
(stanza 48)

He was

A comely personage of stature tall,
And semblaunce pleasing, *more than naturall* . . .
His looser garment to the ground did fall,
And flew about his heeles in wanton wize,
Not fit for speedy pace, or *manly exercize.*
(stanza 46)

The garden was

goodly beautifide
With all the ornaments of Floraes pride,
Wherewith her mother *Art, as halfe in scorne*
Of *niggard Nature,* like a pompous bride
Did decke her, and *too lavishly adorne.* . . .
One would have thought . . .
That Nature had for wantonesse ensude
Art, and that Art at Nature did repine;
So striving each th'other to undermine,
Each did the others worke more beautifie;
So diff'ring both in willes, agreed in fine.
(stanzas 50, 59)

The proper Genius [38] is the old porter of the "Garden of Adonis," [39] the earthly Paradise where Venus dwells when she leaves

her heavenly hous,
The hous of goodly formes and faire aspects,
Whence all the world derives the glorious

---

[38] III, vi. He is the same as that in the *Epithalamion* (398 ff.). Cf. edit. C. Van Winkle (New York, 1926).

[39] Referred to in II, x, 71; cf. further, Greenlaw, "Spenser and Lucretius," *Studies in Philol.*, XVII (1920), especially pp. 441 ff.

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> Features of beautie, and all shapes select,
> With which high God his workmanship hath deckt.
> (III, vi, 12)

The Garden is "So faire a place, as Nature can devize;" in it are

> all the goodly flowres
> Wherewith dame Nature doth her beautifie,
> And decks the girlonds of her paramoures. . . .
> there is the first seminarie
> Of all things, that are borne to live and die,
> According to their kindes.
> (stanza 30)

The Genius here allows to go out and come back those who would enter human life. When they have returned, they remain for a thousand years till the time for them to go into "the chaungefull world againe." Of them is no limit because

> An huge eternall chaos . . . supplies
> The substances of natures fruitfull progenyes.
>
> The substance is not chaunged, nor altered,
> But th'only forme and outward fashion;
> For every substance is conditioned
> To change her hew, and sundry formes to don. . . .
> For formes are variable and decay
> By course of kind [nature], and by occasion.
> (stanzas 36, 38)

To all life Time is an enemy. Venus cannot prevent his infliction of trouble,

> For all that lives, is subject to that law:
> All things decay in time, and to their end do draw.[40]
> (stanza 40)

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[40] The problem of change and immutability is taken up in the Mutability cantos, but I cannot now discuss the doctrine. Cf., however, V, ii, 311 ff. It may be stated that Spenser used "Nature," "Kind," and kindred expressions with the usual favorable Elizabethan and Chaucerian meaning. Cf. in the *Faerie Queene* the following passages: Nature's laws as standard, III, vii, 49; III, iv, 56; IV, vi, 17 and 30, ix, 16, x, 6 and 24; VI, i, 2, ii, 2 and 14, iii, 15, iv, 11, vi, 43, vii, 37 and 41, viii, 2; III, viii, 5; V, v, 25, xii, 1; II, ii, 6, v, 29, vi, 12, 15, 16, vii, 15, xii, 23.

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But at this place, behavior is quite lovely. In it Venus and Adonis have been happy and are so still, for Adonis

> may not
> For ever die, and ever buried bee
> In baleful night, where all things are forgot;
> All be he subject to mortalitie
> Yet is eterne in mutabilitie,
> And by succession made perpetuall,
> Transformed oft, and chaunged diverslie:
> For him the Father of all formes they call;
> Therefore needs mote he live, that living gives to all . . .
> (stanza 47)

There too live Cupid[41] and Psyche with their good child Pleasure. Thither to be reared with Pleasure, Venus has brought the real Amoret (daughter of Chrysogonee), that she,

> lessoned
> In all the lore of love, and goodly womanhead,

might

> be th'ensample of true love alone.
> (stanzas 51, 52)

Among many devoted suitors, she was to favor Sir Scudamour

> To whom her loving hart she linked fast
> In faithfull love, t'abide for evermore,
> And for his dearest sake endured sore.
> (stanza 53)

Though the treatment of the two gardens is not symmetrical, the parallel makes it clear that the source of nature is pure, beautiful, leading to faithful love, and that its guardian must be worthy, whereas the Bower of Bliss is excessive in its imitation of nature and gives play to sloth, weakness, insincerity, lack of righteous masculine intelligence. The doctrine as a whole resembles strongly the doctrine taught by the French authors who deal with similar allegorical figures.

Spenser insisted that love as well as matters of state deserves earnest treatment.

> The rugged forhead that with grave foresight
> Welds kingdomes, causes and affaires of state,

[41] He is not the Cupid of the Mask made by the enchanter Busirane (III, xii).

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My looser rimes . . . doth sharply wite,
For praising love . . .
By which fraile youth is oft to follie led . . .
That better were in vertues discipled. . . .
Such ones ill judge of love, that cannot love,
Ne in their frosen hearts feele kindly [natural] flame:
For thy they ought not thing unknowe reprove,
Ne naturall affection faultlesse blame,
For fault of few that have abusd the same.
For it of honor and all vertue is
The roote. . . . (Opening of Bk. IV)

To such opponents he did not sing, but rather to the Queen,

In whose chast [42] breast all bountie naturall
And treasures of true love enlocked beene.
(Opening of Bk. IV)

IV

The character Genius was employed more often,[43] I believe, than has been generally recognized. An illustration of the happier tradition which Spenser employed is afforded by a tapestry that was at one time lent to the Cleveland Museum of Art by Mr. W. G. Mather. This aristocratic Flemish tapestry [44] would have delighted Spenser. It belongs to the early sixteenth century. The allegory is set in the design known as *mille fleurs,* familiar in later Gothic work. The main subject, presented in appropriate colors, is a symbolic marriage:

Lambs draw a marriage-car bearing the ladies Amour and Paix. The escort is composed of several ladies playing musical instruments—Doulceur,

[42] Cf. F. R. Padelford, "The Allegory of Chastity in the *Faerie Queene*," *Studies in Philol.*, XXI (1924), 367-381.

[43] President W. A. Neilson, for example, noted a case of the French clerical type in addition to those that I have previously considered:

"Genius as 'archiprestre d'amour, vicaire et lieutenant general pour sa Majesté,' appears in a piece by Estienne Pasquier, published at Paris in 1618, as *Ordonnances Generalles d'Amour.* . . . There are fifty ordinances of a figurative sort, forming a kind of amorous jurisprudence rather than a code of instructions for individuals."—"The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love," (Harvard) *Studies and Notes in Philol.*, VI (Boston, 1899), p. 260; his footnote refers to Fournier, *Variétés Hist. et Litt.* (Paris, 1855), II, 169.

[44] I give a reproduction by permission of Mr. Mather and of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

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Amenite, Concorde, and Dilection. A banner is borne by Fame immortelle, who precedes Hymenaeus, a middle-aged man bearded, partly garbed in yellow, and bearing a ring, and also by Geneus [sic], as a high-priest old and bearded. He wears a mitre and carries a document in his hand. Behind the car follows a train of ladies who each add to the meaning of the situation by carrying an apple or gloves or by making a significant gesture. Their names are Fidellite, Loyaulte, Liesse, and —elhette [Belheurte?]. In the distance lie two or three hamlets and castles. The inscription above reads:

> Paix et amour en loyal mariage font triompher par immortelle fame, Les soeurs VIII, dechassant blasine infame, de chastete et pudique couraige.[45]

The tapestry differs from other tapestries in which the ceremony or sacrament of marriage is represented. It is related to those which are called triumphs.[46] Probably it is not a solitary example of its theme, but I have learned of no other. That a special occasion [47] was in the mind of the designer of the tapestry is rendered

[45] Cf. *Bulletin* of the Cleveland Museum of Art, Fifth Year (1918), article by G. L. Hunter, "The Loan Exhibition of Tapestries," p. 64. In *Practical Book of Tapestries* (New York, 1925), pp. 105-106, Mr. Hunter named the figure of Geneus as Oeneus, but now assures me that my identification is correct.

[46] Triumphs, in general, though found in early Italian frescoes depicting the triumph of Thomas Aquinas or of Poverty or of Death, received a great impetus by the *Trionfi*, poems in which Petrarch celebrated the superiority of Chastity to Love, and so on. In tapestries the series of triumphs which he suggested was completed. See Hunter, *Tapestries* (New York, 1912); *Practical Book, op. cit.;* Heinrich Göbel, trans. Robert West (New York, 1924), pp. 31 ff. The most complete consideration occurs in A. Essling and E. Müntz. *Pétrarque* (Paris, 1902). Further matter, especially of the fifteenth century, is in *Catalogue of Italian Engravings preserved . . . in the British Museum*, A. M. Hind, ed. Sidney Colvin (London, 1910), pp. 10 ff. Many woodcuts of triumphs were made for early Italian printed editions of Petrarch from at least 1488. It may be added that among the so-called "Tarocchi" cards of fifteenth-century Ferrara is a group devoted to the Seven Virtues and the *genii* of Time, the Sun, and the World—the only occurrence, so far as is known, in the art of either the Middle Ages or the Renaissance (*Catalogue Ital. Engrav.*, pp. 217 ff.).

[47] The fact that tapestries are often akin in purpose to pageants and entertainments reminds one that at the entrance of King James I. into London (1603-4), the reverend Genius of the city spoke on two occasions, giving speeches that were written by Ben Jonson. The "Entertainment at Theobald's" (1607) shows how the Genius of that residence was persuaded

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FRENCH TAPESTRY REPRESENTING SYMBOLIC MARRIAGE
XVIth century
The Cleveland Museum of Art.

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not unlikely because the theme, though based on accounts of classical marriages, departs considerably from ancient customs in detail. Hymenaeus differs from the usual Roman or Greek portrayal of him, and Genius does not appear at the customary moment during the rites of matrimony.

Though the tapestry has other peculiarities and challenges further investigation, it displays that fusion of mediaeval mood and manner with the stimulus of humanistic and Renaissance material and attitude which expressed the idealism of the sixteenth century. As an example of art different from that of Spenser's, it affords an unusually happy illustration of the vogue of Genius during the time, and of the interweaving of chivalry and neo-Platonism into the warp and woof of that age. Spenser, unaware as he may have been of this specific tapestry, would have been familiar with similar representations of ethics in the various arts. In his employment of two *Genii,* he was incorporating the organic filaments of art, learning, philosophy, and literature into a greater poetic whole.

V

In fine, the Renaissance was familiar with two views of genius, one which represented the view of pagan authors and the other which represented the view of Christians, both patristic and mediaeval[48] The common meeting-ground established both good and bad *genii;* the divergence arose from disagreement in cases of specific *genii.* Spenser approached the subject from the humanistic standpoint. Familiar with encyclopaedic expositions of genius and with mediaeval adaptations of the figure to ethical doctrine, he

to assent to Queen Anne's becoming the mistress, when James caused Cecil to take in exchange for it the manor of Hatfield. *Works,* ed. Gifford, ed. F. Cunningham (London, 1911), respectively: II, 555 ff.; II, 585-87. Related employments of a Genius are given in Robert Withington, *English Pageantry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918, 1920); consult index. The tendency to a confusion of gender is discussed I, 81. A triumphal car was used at Avignon in 1600 (I, 220).

[48] The subsequent history of Genius is still to be written. Cf. Julius Goebel, "Homunculus," *Goethe-Jahrbuch,* XV (1900), 208 ff.; Hans Thüme, "Beiträge des Geniebetriffs in England," *Studien f. engl. Philol.,* LXXI (Halle, 1927); Paul Kaufman, "Heralds of Original Genius," *Essays in Memory of Barrett Wendell* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926); many German critics who deal with "das Dämonische."

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conceived two Genii for his allegorical pattern. The false Genius he associated with sloth and ill-directed passion, deadly sins, infidelity to chivalry, debasement of the creative functions in art and life. The true Genius he associated with eternally active creation, healthful pleasure, sound education in love and living. Thus he sought to glorify the permanent amid the impermanent, and to make the latter contributory to the former. The contrast between the two Genii is parallel with the contrast between Mutability and Nature in the noble cantos of the poet's fragment on the universe. The disintegrating forces are opposed to those in favor of the organic integration of life. Edmund Spenser in both places put above the Many the One, above the Flux the Fixed, above Eris, Eros.

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THE DATE OF MILTON'S FIRST MARRIAGE

By Burns Martin

Scholars are at one in giving 1643 as the year of Milton's first marriage. This date is obtained by inference from a passage in Edward Phillips's *Life:*

> His father, who till the taking of Reading by the Earl of Essex his forces, had lived with his other son at his house there, was upon that son's dissettlement necessitated to betake himself to this his eldest son—.
>
> About Whitsuntide it was, or a little after, that he [Milton] took a journey into the country;—after a month's stay home he returns a married man, that went out a bachelor; his wife being Mary, the eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, then a justice of peace, of Forresthill, near Shotover in Oxfordshire; some few of her nearest relations accompanying the bride to her new habitation; which by reason the father nor any body else [i. e. the new scholars] were yet come, was able to receive them; where the feasting held for some days in celebration of the nuptials, and for entertainment of the bride's friends. At length they took their leave, and returning to Foresthill, left the sister behind; probably not much to her satisfaction, as appeared by the sequel. By that time she had for a month or thereabout led a philosophical life—her friends, possibly incited by her own desire, made earnest suit by letter, to have her company the remaining part of the summer, which was granted, on the condition of her return at the time appointed, Michaelmas [Sept. 29], or thereabout. In the meantime came his father, and some of the forementioned disciples.[1]

Since the town of Reading surrendered to the Earl of Essex, April 27, 1643, the year of Milton's marriage would seem to be settled by the passage quoted above. But as Masson realized there are several complicating factors. If the poet's father left Reading within the six weeks allowed by the terms of capitulation, he should have been in London easily by the middle of June. But Phillips states that he did not arrive until after Mary Powell's departure for Oxford, which must have been in July. In order to overcome this difficulty, Masson had to assume that the terms of capitulation had not been strictly enforced.[2] Again, Masson pointed

[1] I quote from the reprint in *Of Education, Areopagetica, The Commonwealth by John Milton*, ed. Lockwood, Riverside Literature Series, pp. lxvii-lxviii.

[2] Masson, *Life of Milton*, II, 490.

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out that from the beginning of January, 1642/3 there was great difficulty in traveling between London and Oxford, as special licenses were necessary.[3] This was a natural result of the king's having taken residence in the latter place, November 29, 1642. Masson also noted that the sequence of events and Phillips's statement that Milton was led to write his divorce pamphlets by his wife's desertion did not tally with the date, Aug. 1st, [1643], on the Thomason copy of the first edition of *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.*[4] After weighing the problem, Masson came to no decision, as he was unwilling to throw out Phillips's evidence.[5]

Although Phillips is probably reliable for general matters, we should remember, if we are interested in his details, that he was writing (*c.* 1694) fifty years after the marriage, at the time of which he was only a lad of twelve or thirteen years.[6] He might, for example, have the season right but the year wrong. We know that when he gives a date in the *Life,* he is invariably wrong: he states that Milton was born in 1606 (for 1608); that he entered college at 15, which according to Phillips's reckoning would be 1621, whereas Milton was 16 past when he matriculated in 1625; that he moved to Petty-France in 1652 (for 1651); that *Paradise Lost* was published in 1666 (for 1667); and finally that Milton died in 1673 (for 1674). In view of these errors, one is amazed at Masson's hesitancy to forego the evidence of the above-quoted passage. If, however, we abandon the date 1643, what can we substitute?

First, let us consider another passage, strangely overlooked by Masson, in Phillips's *Life:*

> Michaelmas being come, and no news of his wife's return, he sent for her by letter; and receiving no answer, sent several other letters, which were unanswered; so that at last he dispatched down a foot messenger with a letter, desiring her return. But the messenger—reported that he was dismissed with some sort of contempt. This proceeding, in all probability, was grounded upon no other cause but this, namely, that the family being generally addicted to the cavalier party, as they called it, and some of them possibly engaged in the King's service, *who by this time had his headquarters at Oxford, and was in some prospect of success,*

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 503, footnote.
[4] *Ibid.*, III, 44.
[5] *Ibid.*, III, 45-47.
[6] *The Dictionary of National Biography* gives his birth as 1630.

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they began to repent them of having matched the eldest daughter of the family to a person so contrary to them in opinion. . .[7]

Now the obvious inference from this passage is that Mary Powell and Milton were married *before* the king took residence at Oxford. This Charles did, as I said above, Nov. 29, 1642. Plainly, then, Phillips favors 1642 as strongly as 1643.

Lest I be accused of seeking to discredit Phillips only to build up another theory upon his evidence, I hasten to introduce a second witness—the anonymous biographer of Milton. Masson did not know the biography which is preserved among Anthony Wood's papers in the Bodleian and which was first published by Edward S. Parsons in the *English Historical Review* (January, 1902). From it I quote:

In this while, his manner of settlement fitting him for the reception of a Wife, he in a month's time (according to his practice of not wasting that precious talent) courted, married, and brought home from Forresthall [sic], near Oxford, a daughter of Mr. Powell. But she—within a few days left him and went back into the country with her mother. Nor though he sent several pressing invitations could he prevail with her to return, till about four years after, when Oxford was surrendered (the nighness of her father's house to that garrison having for the most part of the meantime hindered any communication between them) she of her own accord came, and submitted to him.[8]

Now as Oxford surrendered June 24, 1646, this reference would place the marriage in 1642.

It must be stated at once that the anonymous biographer, though much more accurate than Phillips, is not impeccable. I have noted three mistakes in his *Life*. He says that Milton entered Christ's College "at about eighteen years of age" and he places *Colasterion* before *Tetrachordon*. The third mistake touches us more closely: since Milton's first child was born July 29, 1646,[9] Mary Powell must have left Oxford in 1645, that is, before the surrender of the city. If we make allowance for this slip, the "about four years" would bring us to 1641[10] or early 1642.

[7] Lockwood, ed., *Of Education*, lxviii-lxix. The italics are mine.

[8] I use the reprint in *Of Education etc.*, ed. Lockwood, xxvii. The italics are mine. Note how the anonymous biographer emphasizes the difficulties of travel between London and Oxford. Anthony Wood followed this account even to the reference to the return.

[9] Masson, *Life*, III, 483.

[10] The marriage centainly cannot have been earlier than July, 1641;

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Since the question is merely the relative reliability of two inaccurate writers—one of whom has, however, fewer mistakes—let us see what will result if we take the year 1642 for that of Milton's marriage. Immediately, the difficulties that Masson noted in connection with 1643—the difficulties of communication with Oxford, the arrival of the father from Reading, and the date on Thomason's copy of *The Doctrine and Discipline*—disappear. Again, the marriage with a Royalist will not seem so strange, for war did not break out until August, 1642.[11]

There is, perhaps, another fact revealed by this new dating. On June 30, 1640, Richard Powell, Mary's father, borrowed £1400 from Sir Robert Pye to be paid back with interest, the total amounting to £1510, on July 1, 1641.[12] Although Powell was unable to meet his obligations, even to the extent of the interest, in 1641, yet on May 28, 1642, he paid £110, the interest for one year—an act which he was never again able to do.[13] Where did he obtain the sum? Why did he pay it *one month before* the completion of the second year of his indebtedness? Now, in 1642, Whitsunday was May 29, the day following the payment of the interest. If we assume that Phillips, although wrong in the year of the marriage, was correct in the season ("about Whitsuntide it was, or a little after"),[14] and that the year was 1642, as inferred from the anonymous biography, we have a pretty speculation. Can John Milton have lent Powell the money? This suggestion is not so absurd as it may seem at first sight. We know that in 1627 Richard Powell and William Hearne contracted a debt of £500 to John Milton which was not settled by 1650.[15] Milton does not seem to have pressed for payment. What would be more natural than that Powell, in financial difficulties in 1642, should

see Joseph Hunter, *Milton, A Sheaf of Gleanings After His Biographers And Annotators*, London, 1850, p. 25. Masson refers to the document.

[11] Can we even be certain that the Powells were actively Royalist before the king took up his residence in Oxford, November 29, 1642?

[12] W. D. Hamilton, ed., *Original Papers Illustrative of The Life and Writings of John Milton*, Printed for the Camden Society, 1859, p. 85. Masson refers to these documents.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[14] There is nothing improbable in this; I think most of us remember the season, rather than the year of an event.

[15] Hamilton, ed., *Original Papers*, p. 48.

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apply to his earlier and lenient creditor?[16] Evidence against social relations between the Powells and the Miltons before the marriage is purely negative; the financial relations in 1627 and the proximity of Horton to Oxford would suggest that some acquaintance probably existed. So a business trip to consider a new loan and to take care of an old one may well have ended at the altar.[17]

Two more points should be noted. I regret that this new dating would render fruitless Professor Chilton Powell's laudable attempt to prove that Milton's divorce pamphlets had no connection with his married life.[18] At least, however, by allowing a full year between the marriage and the publication of *The Doctrine and Discipline,* my date of 1642 does not bring us back to the old and revolting idea, with all its implications, that Milton wrote his divorce pamphlets on his honeymoon. The other point concerns the proposed remarriage of Milton with a daughter of Dr. Davis.[19] This proposal was seemingly made in 1645, a scant two years after Mary Powell's desertion. Admirers of Milton, embarrassed by the apparent haste on the poet's part, should be grateful for the additional year which this new dating (1642) offers.

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[16] Professor David Stevens (*Milton Papers*, Chicago, [1927], pp. 7-13) has shown that Powell was absolutely unscrupulous in financial affairs; hence we need not suppose that modesty would deter him from this step.

[17] Masson (*Life*, II, 503) played with this idea for the year 1643, but the probabilities, if my suggestion concerning the £110 is valid, are much greater for 1642.

[18] Chilton L. Powell, *English Domestic Relations 1487-1653*, New York, 1917, pp. 225-231. Dr. Powell based his arguments upon the belief that a marriage contracted in June, 1643, could not have influenced a pamphlet published before Aug. 1st of the same year. Prof. Gilbert ("Milton on the Position of Women," *Modern Language Review*, XV, 10, footnote) weakened Prof. Powell's argument by references to the statement of the anonymous biographer that the divorce pamphlets were the result of previous thought on the subject and of personal experience. My dating is quite in accord with the latter view.

[19] Phillips is responsible for the story; see *Of Education*, ed. Lockwood, lxx.

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POPE TO LORD BATHURST: AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER

By Helen Sard Hughes

An unpublished autograph letter from Alexander Pope to Lord Bathurst reposes in the library of Wellesley College. "Some of the letters to Lord Bathurst," wrote Elwin, "have been dispersed, and many more than are printed here may still exist." The Wellesley letter is apparently one of these dispersed papers. Written to Lord Bathurst in the year 1724, the epistle discovers the poet surrounded by intimate friends, and preoccupied, meanwhile, with the finest emotion of his life, his concern for his mother. The letter reads as follows:

Twitenham, Sept. 17.
1724.

My Lord

Nothing flatters me so much or (to give it a much more agreeable word) nothing pleases me so much as a thought, that we exactly keep pace in thinking of each other. I remember a few weeks ago, when in Zeal of heart I was running over Hounslow-heath to see you, I met you just half-way, (as one wd always wish to meet a Friend.) And ye very moment, as near as I can guess, that I was writing to you ye Impatiences of my heart, yr Ldship was imploying your pen the same way to me: for ye same post yt carryd out my Impetuosities, brought hither yours. Tho 'tis but 2 days since I filld 4 sides of paper, in the thoughts of you; yet I must write this day again to thank you for yrs. & to tell you that you are rememberd, in ye very manner you would be, by ye two Prose-Ladies you mention. As to ye Verse-Lady, I can say little, but will endeavour (for your sake) to know more of her, than perhaps I might otherwise do. I dont know what further fiction, than that wch is necessary to Poetry, may be in her? but I can assure yu that in me there is no Degree of Fiction sufficient to qualify me for a Decypherer. God forbid there ever should!

It is time that I writ to Digby, to give two of the few people I esteem ye mutual pleasure of seeing each other. A dis-interested Design! I wish with all my heart it had not been so; For I sincerely wish to be at that meeting, could I but have the wishing cap of Fortunatus, & wish my self one day with you at Ciceter, ye next day at Twitnam with ye Ladies you wot of, and an old woman to whom I owe much, because to her I owe that ever I knew ye world, & (what is vastly more) that ever I knew a few like yrself.

That I may do more good offices, I tell you that the Dr is yet at Bath; if ever yu intend to consult yr health this is ye time, therefore. I will

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add no more to ye long Scroll I sent yr Ldship so lately, but yt Mrs Howard by name, & Miss Patty Blount, return you most sincere Services, & that they take kindly yr Distinction of them as Prose-Friends. In ye same class pray for ever rank

My Lord yr faithfull Servt

A. Pope—

You rejoice me in what you have thought for poor Dart. It is every way worthy of you, & I esteem it kind to me, as it proceeds partly thence. You will not be ye less pleased also, for knowing, yt a Departed Friend of ours will place it to his own account, (I am sure of it.) Bonum, quo communius, eo melius.

[Address] To
The Right Honorable the
Lord Bathurst at
Cirencester
Gloucestershire

Lord Bathurst, one of the twelve peers created by Harley in 1711, was frequently Pope's host at Cirencester, and his neighbor at Riskins near Twickenham. "My lord is too much for me," Pope wrote Martha Blount, "he walks and is in spirits all day long."[1] To this genial patron of letters Pope dedicated his third *Moral Essay,* "Of the Use of Riches" (1732). Though their correspondence extended over more than twenty years, Elwin prints no letter between one from Bathurst of October 21, 1723, and one of June, 1725. Indeed the scarcity of letters of the year 1724 in all of Pope's published correspondence (aside from the series to Broome relative to the translation of the *Odyssey*) lends special interest to this one which records the poet's intercourse with a number of his most intimate associates, men and women eminent in the politics and society of the period. The letter aids us in reconstructing in some detail Pope's social life in 1724 while he was at work on Shakespeare and the *Odyssey.*

Two ladies are obviously in the foreground of the picture. Henrietta Howard, later Countess of Suffolk, was bedchamberwoman to the Princess of Wales, later queen Caroline, and mistress of the Prince, later George II. She was Pope's neighbor at Marble Hill, recently built, the grounds of which she laid out with the assist-

[1] *Works of Alexander Pope,* ed. Elwin and Courthope (London, 1871-89), VIII, 322, n.

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ance of Pope and Lord Bathurst. In the court annals of time she is one of the most interesting and contradictory figures. To quote Horace Walpole's *Reminiscences,* she was a lady "of a just height, well made, extremely fair, with the finest light brown hair; was remarkably genteel, and always well dressed with taste and simplicity. . . . Her mental qualifications were by no means shining; her eyes and countenance showed her character, which was grave and mild." "She was discreet," he adds, "without being reserved; and having no bad qualities, and being constant to her connexions, she preserved uncommon respect to the end of her life; and from the propriety and decency of her behaviour was always treated as if her virtue had never been questioned; her friends even affecting to suppose that her connexion with the king had been confined to pure friendship."[2] A tribute like this from Horace Walpole was an accolade.

Such was the lady whom Pope celebrated charmingly in his lyric, written at about the time of the letter:

> I know the thing that's most uncommon;
> (Envy, be silent, and attend!)
> I know a reasonable Woman,
> Handsome and witty, yet a friend.

Yet she was also the Chloe of his epistle "Of the Characters of Women" of whom he wrote

> Virtue she finds too painful an endeavour
> Content to dwell in decencies for ever.

Writing of Mrs. Howard, however, in 1723, to their common friend John Gay, Pope declared, "She has as much good-nature, as if she had never seen any ill-nature, and had been bred among lambs and turtle-doves, instead of princes and court-ladies."[3]

Bathurst under cover of political loyalty to the Prince's party had been paying court to the lady. At least Horace Walpole attributes the attentions paid to Mrs. Howard by Swift, Bathurst, and other members of Bolingbroke's coterie, as political measures looking toward the use of the king's favorite to assist the overthrow of the Queen's prime minister.[4] Not so does Lady Mary

[2] *Reminiscences and Walpoliana,* Boston, 1820, pp. 64-65.
[3] *Works,* VII, 425.
[4] *Reminiscences,* p. 50.

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Wortley Montagu, however, interpret Lord Bathurst's attentions. Settled at Twickenham, as the result, perhaps, of Pope's suggestion, she observed with no sympathetic eye the affairs of her charming neighbor at Marble Hill. Writing to her sister, Lady Mar, in 1725 Lady Mary declares: "But the most surprising news is Lord Bathurst's assiduous court to their Royal Highnesses, which fills the coffee-houses with profound speculations. But I, who smell a rat at a considerable distance, do believe in private that Mrs. Howard and his lordship have a friendship that borders upon 'the tender.'" [5]

Intimate with Mrs. Howard at this time we find Martha Blount, the woman of Pope's long affection. For her, perhaps this very year, he wrote a birthday epistle; to her he was to dedicate his *Moral Essay,* "Of the Characters of Women" (1735). Martha Blount and Mrs. Howard appear together frequently in the letters of Pope and his friends. "I will not fail to attend Mrs. Howard at Marble Hall next Tuesday," writes Bathurst in 1725; and he concludes a later letter, "My service to Mrs. Pope, Patty Blount, Mrs. Howard, and Captain Gray." [6] To Martha Blount Pope writes in 1728, "I left Lord Cobham's, as I told you, not without a wish that yourself and Mrs. Howard had seen it with me." [7]

Pope's devotion to his mother is linked with his affection for Martha Blount as evidence of a capacity for tenderness with which he was not always credited. Mrs. Pope died in 1733 at the age of ninety-three. For many years before her death, as on the occasion of this letter, her son had often denied himself needful change that he might attend her every need. In a letter to Caryll in 1729 he writes: "Indeed, it is some comfort to me, in the daily mortifying sight of the decay and gradual loss of a person so dear to me as a parent, to whose care I have been obliged through a whole life, to know I can, on some measure, now pay that debt by softening her last hours; especially when I reflect how much more unhappy some poor old mothers are than ever mine shall be." [8] Mrs. Pope's illness in the autumn of 1724 he mentions in a letter to Lord Oxford as explanation of a change of plans. [9]

[5] *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,* ed. Wharncliffe (London, 1861), I, 489.

[6] *Works,* VIII, 337.

[7] *Works,* IX, 311.

[8] *Works,* VI, 314.

[9] *Works,* V, 199, 206.

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Other men to whom Pope was bound by ties of friendly intimacy, besides Lord Bathurst, appear in the Wellesley letter. Robert Digby, second son of the fifth Lord Digby, and at this time heir to the title, was a young man of frail health and philosophic mind. After his death in 1726 Pope composed the epitaph which dwells gently on the sweet spirit of his friend:

> Composed in Suff'rings, and in Joy sedate,
> Good without noise, without pretensions great:
> Just of thy word, in ev'ry thought sincere,
> Who knew no wish but what the world might hear;
> Of softest Manners, unaffected Mind,
> Lover of Peace, and Friend of humankind!

A meeting between his friends Digby and Bathurst at Cirencester Pope had evidently arranged, and then, we infer from the Wellesley letter, he was prevented from presiding over the happy occasion by his mother's illness.

Finally, the doctor then at Bath whom he commends to Bathurst is probably that intimate of Pope's innermost circle, Dr. Arbuthnot; and the "Departed Friend of ours" who would be pleased by Bathurst's provision for "poor Dart"—was he Atterbury, the High Church Dean of Westminster, and Bishop of Rochester, recently banished for his Jacobite intrigues? "Poor Dart" was in that case presumably the antiquary John Dart who wrote in 1721 a poem on Westminster Abbey and in 1722 *A Poem on Chaucer and his Writings, Written at the Request of the Lord Bishop of Rochester; and now Dedicated to his Lordship.* Apparently Lord Bathurst was taking up the work of patronage which the banished Atterbury had perforce laid down.[10]

Pope's final allusion to Bathurst's characteristic designation of Mrs. Howard and Parry Blount as "Prose Friends," with the earlier reference to "ye two Prose-Ladies" who remember Lord Bathurst, and "ye Verse-Lady" of whom the poet has so little to say, recalls Bathurst's description of Prior and Lewis as his "verseman" and his "proseman."[11] Pope took over the terms in his first satire:

[10] For the identification of the allusions to Atterbury and Dart I am indebted to Professor George W. Sherburn of the University of Chicago.

[11] Spence, *Anecdotes*, p. 175.

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My head and heart thus flowing through my quill,
Verse man or prose man, term me what you will.

Did the term "prose man" (and hence Prose-lady) designate one who wrote straight from the *heart?* The terms appear in the letters of Pope,[12] Gay,[13] and Bathurst; the latter describes himself in a letter to Pope as "A true prose man."[14]

Since obviously his friends Patty Blount and Mrs. Howard are the *prose ladies,* it is highly probable that Pope's other neighbor and erstwhile friend, the lady more noted for head than heart, is the *verse lady* to whom reference is made. Before this time, it is evident, the coldness between Lady Mary and the poet had begun. In 1725, writing to Lady Mar, she speaks of "the vivacious Lord Bathurst, with whom I have been well and ill ten times within two months."[15] Five years later Lord Bathurst wrote Pope: "The newspapers say Lady Mary is very ill. Pray enquire after her in your own name and mine. We have both been her humble admirers at different times. I am not so changeable as you; I think of her now as I always did."[16] To which Pope replies rather peevishly: "I have compliments to you from a lady there, and from a lady here, [Elwin's note: "Probably Mrs. Howard and Martha Blount."] not Lady Mary, who wished you and all of us at the devil last week, because she thought of going to him herself, but is now recovered, and cares not a pin for you, or any man of honour in christendom."[17] No letters are known to have passed between Pope and Lady Mary after 1721. She wrote Lady Mar early in 1722: "I see some times Mr. Congreve, and very seldom Mr. Pope."[18] It is then, of some interest to discover in the passage in the Wellesley letter a new allusion by the offended poet to his too witty neighbor. Has same gossipy story about her neighbors at Twickenham recently exhibited her powers in "Fiction?" Or was the poet's phrase a general indictment of her sincerity?

Wellesley College.

[12] *Works,* VIII, 322; cf. p. 324 and note.
[13] *Works,* VII, 257.
[14] *Works,* VIII, 332.
[15] *Letters and Works,* I, 485.
[16] *Works,* VIII, 337.
[17] *Works,* VIII, 339.
[18] *Letters and Works,* I, 461.

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A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SPENSER FROM 1923-1928

By Alice Parrott

The following bibliography is an attempted completion of F. I. Carpenter's *Reference Guide to Spenser,* from 1923-1928. It includes all the additional entries made in Professor Carpenter's own copy of the *Guide* before the date 1923. Credit is given for all his entries and critical comments by the initials "F. I. C." [1]

List of Abbreviations

Archiv.	= Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen
J.E.G.P.	= Journal of English and Germanic Philology
L.T.S.	= Literary Supplement of the London Times
M.P.	= Modern Philology
M.L.N.	= Modern Language Notes
M.L.R.	= Modern Language Review
P.M.L.A.	= Publications of the Modern Language Association
R.E.S.	= Review of English Studies
S.P.	= Studies in Philology

ADDLESHAW, P. *Sir Philip Sidney.* London, 1909.

259-271: "Speculations on the nature and degree of their friendship. A superficial and popular book." (F. I. C)

Advertisement for Ireland, being a description of the State of Ireland in the reign of James I. Dublin (Society of Antiquaries), 1923.

ALBRIGHT, E. M. *"The Faerie Queene" in Masque at the Gray's Inn Revels.* P.M.L.A., XLI (1926), 497-516.

Shows that the pub. of Part II of *FQ.* was announced to court of Eliz. through the Proteus masque of Davison in Christmas Revels of Gray's Inn and at court in winter of 1594-5, and that the *FQ.* was its chief source; Books IV and V (unpublished) gave suggestions for two little masques of Amity and Proteus. There is a possibility of a strong friendship between Davison and Sp. which would account

[1] I also wish to acknowledge assistance given by Dr. Evelyn May Albright, University of Chicago; and Mr. W. S. Webb, Research Fellow, the Johns Hopkins University.

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for Sp's attitude toward Burghley and Mary Queen of Scots, and for some knowledge of Irish, Scottish, English, and French political situations.

ALBRIGHT, E. M. *Dramatic Publications in England, 1580-1640.* (M.L.A. Monographs, 1927.)

Amoretti, Including the "Prothalamion" and "Epithalamion." London, 1904.

"Prefatory note signed R. B. J. Frontispiece—etching from the Dupplin (Kinnoul) portrait, no apparatus." (F. I. C.)

ASHTON, H. *Du Bartas en Angleterre.* Paris, 1908.

BALDWIN, T. W. *Three Francis Beaumonts.* M.L.N., XXXIX (1924), 505-7.

Shows that Francis B., the dramatist, was not the author of the letter to lady Anne Newdgate (Anne Fitton), *c.* 1611-12, in which Sp. is praised, nor Judge B., the father, but the later Master B. of the Charterhouse, "a relative and namesake of the dramatist's father."

BALLIÈRE, PAUL. *Poètes allemands et poètes anglais.* Paris, 1927.

187-191: "Ed. Sp. A trans. with a brief intro. into French of *Amoretti*, Sonnet, 70, 75, 78." (F. I. C.)

BARFIELD, J. *"The Lady Una and the Red Cross Knight," A Fairy Tale, in Three Acts.* 1806.

"Anonymous, founded on Sp's *Faerie Queene*" (in a London Bookseller's Cat., 1923).

BAUER, R. *Die Iren . . . in der Darstellung von Edmund Spenser.* Halle, 1924(?).

BEHLER, MALLEY. *Die Beziehungen zwischen Sidney und Spenser.* Archiv., CXLVI (1923), 53-9.

BENNETT, GEORGE. *The History of Bandon.* Cork, 1869.

95: "Catharine, eldest daughter of the renowned poet Sp. married William Wiseman (M. P. for Bandon 1634); Sp's second son, Laurence, died in Bandon in 1654. The poet's third son Peregrine, was firmarius of the adjoining parish of Brinny." (F. I. C.)

BENSEL, R. *The Character of King Arthur in English Literature.* Amsterdam, 1925.

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BLANCHARD, H. H. *Spenser and Boiardo.* P.M.L.A., XL (1925), 828-51.

Study of parallels in *Orlando Innamorato and FQ.* Found in the incident in which Red Cross and Una meet Sir Trevisan fleeing from despair; battle between Red Cross and Dragon; Belphoebe's utterance to Braggadochio concerning honor; the story which Phedon tells Sir Guyon; combat between Sir Guyon and Pyrocles in which Guyon accidentally kills Pyrocles' horse; characteristics of Phaedria; castle Joyous, where Britomart spends a night at household of Lady Malecaster; figure of "hideous beast" in some aspects like orc in Boiardo; episode of Britomart accompanying Scudamour to castle of Busirane; certain details of joust between Britomart and Artegall; Timias' attempt to rescue Amoret from Savage Lust; adventure by which Scudamour secures the shield of love and entrance to Venus' Island; Artegal dispersing Souldan's followers; Calidore finds Colin Clout piping to Graces; identification of Pastorella as the daughter of Sir Bellamoure and Lady Claribell.

————. *Imitations from Tasso in the "Faerie Queene."* S.P., XXII (1925), 198-221.

Continuation of Koeppel's study of parallel passages in *FQ.* and poems of Tasso. Cites twenty-one parallels, a number of which are from Tasso's earlier poem, the *Rinaldo,* pub. 1562.

BRADFORD, THOMAS. *Verses* prefixed to Rob. Baron's *Cyprian Academy,* 1648.

> "Here is a chimist which from a rude masse
> Extracts Elixar that death may well surpasse
> Spenser's ninth Canto in the fairy Queene."
>
> (Quoted in Bradley and Adams, *Jonson Allusion Book*)
> (F. I. C.)

British Museum Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits. Ed. by F. O'Donoghue, B. M. Publ., 1904-22, 5v.

IV, 166-7: "Lists seventeen engraved portraits of Sp., e. g. G. Vertue 1727, Bell's Poets, 1777, etc.

V. 79: That the head of Sp. appears in the engraved title page of E. Phillips, *New World of Words,* 1678; also in plate II of the *Worthies of Britian,* pub. by J. Bowles; also in plate I of *Poets and Philosophers of England.*" (F. I. C.)

BUSH, D. *Some Allusions to Spenser.* M.L.N., XLII (1927), 314-16.

BUYSSONS, E. *Calvinism in "Faerie Queene" of Spenser.* Rev. belge de philologie et d'hist, V (1926), 1.

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CALDWELL, JAMES R. *Dating a Spenser-Harvey Letter.* P.M.L.A., (1926), 568-74.

The first of the "Two other very commendable letters" in correspondence between Sp. and Harvey. Explanation and establishment of date of composition, Oct. 5, first part; Oct. 16, last.

CARPENTER, F. I. *Reference Guide of Spenser.* Chicago, 1923.

Reviewed in Nation, (1924), 237; L.T.S. (Aug. 23, 1923), 560; M.L.R., XIX (1924), 258-9; J.E.G.P., XXXIII (1924), 316-22.

These reviews give the value of such a work and point out numerous omissions that I have included in my list.

———. *G. W. Senior and G. W. I.* M.P., XXII (1924), 67-8.

Two sonnets "To the Author" prefixed to Sp.'s *Amoretti*, 1595, signed G. W. S. and G. W. I. "G. W. Senior" suggests that "G. W. I." stands for G. W. Junior, obviously father and son. George Whetstone, George Walker, George Waterhouse, George Webb, George Weymouth, George Wilson, fail as possible candidates, either because they were too young in 1595, or because their interests and careers were too remote from Sp's and especially because there is no "junior." Possible candidates are Geoffrey Whitney (1548?-1601?) author of *Emblems*, and George Wilkins. Whitney was the son of father of same name. Whitney Jr. was educated at Cambridge and Leicester was his patron. George Wilkins "the poet" was the father of the dramatist and pamphleteer.

———. *Spenser Apocrypha.* Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature, Chicago, 1923, pp. 64-69.

"Mainly a description of the *De Rebus Gestis Brianniae* volume, with a discussion of the evidence for Sp's authorship which is found to be possible but doubtful." (F. I. C.)

———. *The Marriages of Spenser.* M.P., XXII (1924), 97-98.

Explanation of two records concerning the marriages of an Edmund Spenser. 1. Entry in *Middlesex Parish Registers* (ed., W. P. W. Phillimore and Thos. Gurney, London, 1910, at p. 145, under "Marriages at West Drayton, 1568 to 1813), as follows: "Edmund Spenser and Jone Bre(ttri)dge . . . 21, July, 1586." It is improbable that Sp. was in England in 1586. Impossible for him to have been in London on July 21, 1586, for his sonnet to Harvey dated Dublin July 18, 1586. Therefore the bridegroom of Jone Brettridge could not have been the poet. 2. Entry from register of St. Bees, Cumberland, as follows: "1590, 1 December. Edmundus Spenser et Maria Towerson nupti fuerunt." There is no record of any connection of the poet Sp. with Saint Bees or with Cumberland. This evidence

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must be ruled out by the arbitrary assumption that this "Edmundus Spenser" was one of the other Edmund Spensers of the period.

CHAMBRUN, CLARA (LONGWORTH) COMTESSE DE. *Giovanni Florio.* Paris, 1921, pp. 31, 32.

"Answers Grosart's objections to Halpin's theories that Rosalind is Rose Daniel, Florio's first wife and sister to Samuel Daniel, and that Menalcas is Florio." (F. I. C.)

COLE, GEORGE. *Bibliographical Pitfalls-Linked Books.* Papers of Bibl. Soc'y. of America, XVIII, 12-30.

(On Bacon's *The Use of the Law,* and Spenser's *A View of the State of Ireland*).

COLERIDGE, S. T.—*Lectures on Shakespeare.* London, 1885, 105 n; 515. (F. I. C.)

CONINGTON, JOHN. "The English Translators of Virgil." *Miscellaneous Writings of John Conington.* Ed. by J. A. Symonds. London, 1872, I, 137-197. "Reprinted from the Quarterly Review, July, 1861."

CORY, HERBERT E. *Edmund Spenser: A critical study.* Rev. by M.L., *Lit. Zentralbl,* LXXIV (1923), 419.

COVINGTON, F. F., JR. *Early Seventeenth Century Criticism of Spenser.* M.L.N., XLI (1926), 386-7.

Thos. Heywood in the *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angells,* pr. 1635 cites Sp. as authority on poetry and quotes at length from *S. C.* Shows his admiration for Sp. as well as the continued popularity of *S. C.*

————. *A note on the "Faerie Queene," IV, iii, 27.* M.L.N., XL (1926), 253.

One of the earliest specific references in *FQ.* to Sp's Irish environment is in Bk. IV, canto iii, stanza 27. Fortunes of combat between Cambell and Triamond are compared to strong tide in river Shannon. There is a notice in *Annals of Loch Ce,* 1586, which refers to tides of Shannon.

————. *Biographical Notes on Spenser.* M.P., XXII (1924), 63-66.

Conjectural evidence that "John Eustace of Newland" was original owner of estate granted to Sp. by Lord Grey in 1582; that Barnaby Googe was a member of Sp's circle in Ireland; that Sp. was with Grey in Dublin at feast on Easter Mon. at "Cullenswood," 1581.

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COVINGTON, F. F., JR. *Spenser's Use of Irish History in the "View of the Present State of Ireland."* Texas Studies in English, IV, 1924, 5-38.

———. *Spenser and Alexander Neckam.* S.P., XXII (1925), 222-25.

Traces Alexander Neckam's (1157-1217) third "distinctio" of *De Laudibus Sapientiae* as one possible source of inspiration for the account of Irish rivers in *FQ.*, IV, xi. Sp. may have read the original in MS. form or excerpts from it in Camden's *Britannia.*

COWLEY, R. R. *Chaucerian Echo in Spenser.* M.L.N., XLI (1926), 313-14.

A picture in Sp's House of Pride (*FQ.* I, iv) like one in Chaucer's *House of Fame.*

DAVIS, BERNARD E. C. *Our Pleasant Willy.* Notes and Queries, XIII (1923), 323-4.

"That 'Willy' is not the same as that same gentle Spirit of 1, 217; that 'Willy' is Tarleton, and the gentle Spirit is Lyly. The stanza a later interpolation. *T. of M.* written c. 1585. The interpolation 1589." (F. I. C.)

———. *The Text of Spenser's "Complaints."* M.L.R., XX (1925), 18-24.

Consideration of the changes in text of Quarto ed. of 1591 and Folio ed. of 1611, and the respective values of the editions.

Day Book of Passages from the "Faery Queene." Chosen by Alice Cowell. Edinburgh and London, 1905. (F. I. C.)

DE BLACAM, H. *Secret of Spenser.* Literary Review, V (1924), 1-2.

Sp. was the first great writer of English whose work bore the mark of Ireland. He might be called the founder of Anglo-Irish literature. A distinct Celtic mood is felt in his works. He may have no drop of Celtic blood; but his imagination was so delicately "attuned to natural beauty of the island scenery" that his poetry was the pure creation of the Celtic spirit, that is, of the spirit of the island soil.

DONADY, JULES. *Spenser et la Reine des Fées.* La Mer et les Poètes Anglais. Paris, 1912, pp. 66-84.

DRAPER, JOHN W. *Spenserian Biography: A Note on the Vagaries of Scholarship.* New York, The Colonnade, 1921, pp. 36-46.

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DRAPER, JOHN W. *More Light on Spenser's Linguistics.* M.L.N., XLI (1926), 127-28.

Appendix to study in M.P., XVII, 111 ff. Explains Sp's use of "tansitry" and "Scot."

———. *The Narrative Technique of the "Faerie Queene."* P.M.L.A., XXXIX (1924), 310-24.

Shows there is symmetry throughout *FQ*. It is decidedly marked in Books I, II, VI. Plan mapped out in the letter to Raleigh. Main purpose is didactic, "to fashion a gentleman," incidentally historical; chief concern to make poem interesting by variety and ordering of subject matter. This plan shows that Sp. could have drawn from the preceding generation of Italian literary theorists and that their opinions are on the whole nearer to his actual practice and to his general statements than either the classical epics or classical criticism or the *Orlando* of Ariosto.

DRINKWATER, JOHN (ed.). *Essays by Divers Hands, being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom.* New Series. Vol. V, Oxford, 1925.

Rev. in L.T.S., September 3, 1925; Edinburgh Review, CCXLII (1925). 404-405. by W. Rowntree.

Contains an essay by Sir Henry Newbolt on the influence of the Sicilian pastoral on Spenser and other poets. (Hardin Craig.)

DUNLOP, ROBERT. *Ireland under the Commonwealth.* Manchester, 1913. I, lix: Spenser and Lord Grey. (F. I. C.)

———. *The Plantation of Levi and Offalay.* English Historical Review, VI (1891).

61-96: "On a survey in 1622 of three principal plantations.
94-96: List of granters in the Munster plantation." (F. I. C.)

———. *The Plantation of Munster, 1584-1589.* English Historical Review, III (1888), 250-269.

"The basic account. That it was suggested by Perrot's Report, 1582. Started at favorable time when Munster was largely depopulated and its lands forfeited by rebellion, but its prospects thwarted by the frequent pardons in subsequent years involving many titles in litigation; the undertakers were left to fight the Irish claims (e. g. Sp. *vs.* Lord Roche). A commission on titles, 1588, was ruthless against the Irish (cf. p. 266) and so the scheme proved a failure (p. 268). The early survey was incompetent. The various plans ill conceived and poorly supported. p. 267: Sp. in 1589 had six households on his land; date of his patent 26 Oct., 1590. p. 269: Sp's comment on the Plantation (in V. of I.)." (F. I. C.)

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DURRANT, WM. SCOTT. *"The Red Cross Knight," A Play.* (Scenes from Sp's *FQ.*), London (The Year Book Press), 1913.

"An attempt to dramatize the story of the First Book of the *FQ.* His own lines have been used whenever possible." (F. I. C.)

ERSKINE, JOHN. *Life, the great adventure; story of the "Faerie Queene."* Delineator, March, 1927.

EVELYN, JOHN. *In Poems Collected by N. Tate,* 1685, 90.

"While the whole earth resounds Eliza's Fame,
Who curb'd the French and did the Spaniard tame,
The English will remember Spenser's name." (F. I. C.)

FAIRCHILD, HOXIE N. *Edmund Spenser.* Literary Digest International Book Review, II (1924), 542-43.

Pleasing article on the charm of Spenser.

FAVERTY, F. E. *A Note on the Areopagus.* Philological Quarterly, V (1926), 278-280.

Discussion of argument advanced by Dr. Howard Maynadier against the existence of definite literary organization. From evidence found in Thomas Newton's dedicatory epistle to Sir Thomas Heneage in *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* one may conclude that Areopagus was applied in latter half of sixteenth Cent. to any group of persons which exercised judiciary authority.

FINNEY, C. F. *Keat's philosophy of beauty: an interpretation of the allegory of "Endymion" in the light of the Neo-Platonism of Spenser.* Philological Quarterly, V (1926), 1-19.

FINSLER, GEORG. *Homer in der Neuzeit von Dante bis Goethe. Italien. Frankreich. England. Deutschland.* Leipzig and Berlin, 1912, pp. 277-280.

FRANK, TENNEY. "The 'Culex'." *Virgil: A Biography.* New York, 1922, pp. 28-34.

FRIEDLAND, LOUIS S. *Spenser's Minor Poems.* MS. dissertation in Library of New York University, 1912.

"A study of the Poems in connection with the literature of the French Renaissance, with chapters on Emblem poetry (with bibl.) on Sp's Poetic theories, metrics, *The Ruins, The Visions,* etc." (F. I. C.

GALIMBERTI, ALICE. *Dante nel pensièro inglese.* Florence, Le Monnier, 1922. (F. I. C.)

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GALLAND, RENÉ. *Un Poète Errant de la Renaissance, Jean Van der Noot et l'Angleterre.*" Revue de Littérature Comparée, II (1922), 337-50.

"A study of Noot's life, based on Vermeylen. Doubts Sp's authorship of the sonnets. Thinks Noot stimulated Sp's interest in pictures (emblems). Probable influence of Noot's epic, *l'Olympiade*, on Sp. Parallelism, 'Spenser—done l'impression d'être inépuisable, comme une force de la nature'." (F. I. C.)

GARROD, H. W. *Spenser and Elizabeth Boyle.* L.T.S. (May 10, 1923) and (May 24, 1923).

"That Eliz. Boyle was a widow when Sp. married her (on evidence of MS. *Marginalia* in a copy of 1596 ed. of *FQ.*); i. e. Mrs. Eliz. Peace. Confirmed in an allusion in *Amoretti.* Her first husband was Tristram Peace." (F. I. C.)

GORDON, GEORGE. *The Trojans in Britain.* Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, IX (1924), 9-30.

GRAVES, T. S. *Spenser Bibliography.* S.P., XXI (1924), 448-9.

———. *Some Chaucer Allusions.* S.P., XX (1923), 475.

1651, Sheppard, S. Third Pastoral appended to his Epigrams.

Linus

"Then Collin Clout his pipe did sound,
Making both Heaven and Earth resound:
The Shepheards all both farre and near
About him flock'd his layes to hear,
And for his songs he was so fam'd,
He was the Prince of Shepheards nam'd."

GREENLAW, EDWIN. *Two Notes on Spenser's Classical Sources.* M.L.N., XLI (1926), 323-26.

Passage in Rhodius' *Argonautica* source of the brilliant sea passage in *C.C.H.A.* Hesiod the source of the debate between Braggadochio and Belphoebe in *FQ.* II, iii, 38.

———. *Some Old Religious Cults in Spenser.* S.P., XX (1923), 216-43.

"Sp's philosophy of nature, esp. in the Cantos of Mutability. Its basis in *Alanus de Insulis.* Sp's interest in ancient cults, that of the Mater Deum (Cybele, etc.). Use of other sources, Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Apollonius, Rhodius, Plutarch, Natalism, Comes, etc. Comparison with various passages in the *FQ.*, etc. Importance of the 'body of philosophical poetry' which all of these present. His conception of love as the ruling and redeeming force of the universe

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(compare Shelley). A study of the sage and serious Spenser." (F. I. C.)

GREENLAW, EDWIN. *Una and her Lamb.* M.L.N., XLII (1927), 515-16.

Agrees with Messrs. Padelford and O'Connor that Sp. followed the ancient legend of St. George rather than "contriving a subtle allegory of truth and innocence." Does not think it necessary to credit Sp. with any special alchemy in converting the sheep of the literary versions to the lamb of his narrative; nor to postulate any one literary source for Sp's version of the Legend of St. George. It was part and parcel of folk belief and courtly entertainment in his time and long before.

HARMAN, EDWARD G. *Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe.* London, 1923.

5-7: "That Immerito is Bacon; that Sp. was in Ireland in 1577 under Sir Henry Sidney; that earlier (1569) he was secretary to the ambassador to Rimia. That he was born nearer '1510' than 1553." (F. I. C.)

———. *Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe.* London, 1923.

"In continuation of the preceding; further development of the theory that Sp. is one of the 'impersonators' of Bacon. That Immerito is Bacon. (F. I. C.)

HARRISON, LUCY. *Spenser for Home and School.* Poems of Spenser, selected and arranged with notes. London: Bentley, 1883. (F. I. C.)

HERBERT, SIR WILLIAM. *Croftes: sive de Hibernia Liber.* Pr. from MS. Ed. by W. E. Buckley, Roxburghe Club, 1887.

"In Latin, by one of the 'undertakers' *c.* 1583. A description of Ireland, sketch of history on traits of the Irish, outline of policy, etc., 37 ff. Urges 'colonization of parts of Ireland,' gives reasons why previous attempts have failed (from intermarriage with Irish, etc.). Some points of argument like *V.O.I.*" (F. I. C.)

HEWLETT, JAMES H. *Interpreting a Spenser-Harvey Letter.* P.M.L.A., XLII (1927), 1060-65.

Takes exception to Caldwell's interpretation of Sp's letter. (See "Dating a Spenser-Harvey Letter." P.L.M.A., XLI (1926), 568-574). Caldwell concluded from his dates of the letters that Sp's hopes for going abroad on Earl of Leicester's business to have been of but ten days duration. This conclusion fails to consider the condition of affairs in Eliz's court. Sp's letter shows the uncertainty of the times rather than a personal loss of hope. Any satisfactory in-

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terpretation of Sp's letter must also take into consideration the relation which Harvey's reply bears to it. Harvey's letter was a travel letter, addressed to Sp. as a prospective traveler. Sp's letter taken as a whole discloses "a high state of hope on the part of Sp. for worldly advancement," because in both parts he had his heart set on the new era of his life which he felt was beginning with his expected trip to the Continent.

HOWELL, JAMES. *Londoniopolis.* 1657, quoted in S. P., XX (1923), 477.

Referring to the burial in Westminster Abbey: "And (whom in no wise we must forget) the Prince of English Poets, Geoffrey Chaucer; as also he that for pregnant wit, and an excellent gift in Poetry, of all English Poets came nearest unto him, Edmund Spenser."

HUGHES, M. Y. *The Relation of the "Faerie Queene" to the "Nichomachean Ethics."* Paper presented at the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast at San Francisco, Dec. 1, 1924.

———. *Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances.* M.P., XXIII (1925), 67-82.

No evidence that Sp. derived any element of his poetry directly from any Greek romance. Four motifs in the story of Pastorella came ultimately from Longus or Heliodorus, but all of them had become common knowledge in Sp's time. Possibility of tracing the influence of Heliodorus through Sidney on Sp's treatment of "moral virtues" and his fondness of Greek romances may have been a minor force that helped to make the *FQ.* the most pictorial of epics. (He does not force any of the points.)

———. *Spenser and the Greek Pastoral Triad.* S.P., XX (1923), 184-215.

"Sp's debt to Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus: their 'direct' influence negligible. Sp. derives them through Ren. intermediaries with their peculiar literary conventions. Influence of these on the *SC.*, March and November, and on the Fourth Epigram (foll. the *Amoretti*). Comparison of the pastorals of the Pléiade with *SC.*" (F. I. C.'

———. *Burton and Spenser.* P.M.L.A., XLI (1926), 545-67.

For the person who wishes to understand Sp., Burton is the best commentator. *Anatomy of Melancholy*, in scientific disguise, explains the psychology, ethics, and theology back of Sp's allegory.

JACK, ADOLPHUS ALFRED. *A Commentary on the Poetry of Chaucer and Spenser.* Glasgow: Jackson & Co., 1920.

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J. H. "Art XIX. *Polimanteia, . . . Whereunto is added, a letter from England to her three daughters, Cambridge, Oxford, Innes of Court, . . . Printed by John Legate, Printer to the University of Cambridge. 1595.*" (Letter quoted). The British Bibliographer, I (1810), Spenser-Virgil, p. 284.

JOHNSON, EDMUND. "A Quare with a Quare concerning John Quis." Appended to John Gower's *Pyrgomachia*, 1635, quoted in S.P., XX (1923), 473.

"Thus, by Soule-shifting, Virgil's ghost did wend to Spenser's lodge."

JONES, RICHARD FOSTER. *Richard Mulcaster's "View of the English Language."* Washington University (St. Louis) Studies, XIII (April, 1926), 267-303.

JONES, H. S. V.—*The "Faerie Queene" and the Medieval Aristotelian Tradition.* J.E.G.P., XXV (1926), 283-98.

An inquiry into the influences and ethical traditions that led to *FQ*. Shows that Sp's ethics had close contact with the ethical thought of Aristotle, the system of Thomas Aquinas (based on Aristotle), and the Christian philosophy of Protestant Melanchthon.

LANDRUM, GRACE WARREN. *Spenser's Use of the Bible and his Alleged Puritanism.* P.M.L.A., XLI (1926), 517-44.

Gives list of biblical texts to which Sp. refers or alludes in his poetry and prose. By internal evidence shows that Sp. was more familiar with the Great Bible than any other version. Shows bearing of the use of this version on his alleged Puritanism. A new evaluation of the term Puritan in the light of Sp. Neither the conservative nor the radical wing of English Protestantism was marked in Sp's youth by unalterable fixedness of views. It is better to abandon the term Puritan for such churchmen as declined to ally themselves with any distinct group of dissenters and remained in favor of modified Anglicanism.

Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, by James Montgomery "and others." Chapter on Spenser in *Lives of the Most Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Great Britain.* I, 312-51 (1836); L.T.S. (Aug. 23, 1923), 560.

LAWRENCE, C. E. *Personality of Edmund Spenser.* Quarterly, CCLIX (1927), 154-67.

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LEGOUIS, ÉMILE. *Edmund Spenser.* Paris, 1923.

Rev. in Anglia, XXXV (1924), 355-56; L.T.S. (Jan. 24, 1924), 45.

Aimed to make Sp. accessible to French countrymen; to interpret the "poet's poet" to a reading public beyond the scholars. Divided into two books, the life of Sp., and the works. Shows that the impelling force in Sp. was the "glamour of creation."

————. *Edmund Spenser.* New York, 1926.

Rev. in The Statesman, XXVIII (1926), 278.

This book consists of six lectures delivered by Legouis for the Turnbull Foundation at the Johns Hopkins University, in 1922. Omits many details that are easily available to American students. Intended to set forth his personal views of Sp. Perhaps the most personal reactions are found in the fifth chapter on the pictorial aspect of Sp's art. Chief aim is to show wherein Sp's greatness as a poet lies. Interesting, but not accurate.

————. (Irvine, Helen Douglas, Trans.) *A History of English Literature by Émile Legouis and Louis Cazamian.* New York, 1926, I, 173-85.

LEMMI, C. W.—*Monster—Spawning Nile—Mud in Spenser.* M.L.N., XLI (1926), 234-38.

Chief source of Sp's specific allusions to mud of the Nile is found in *Historical Library* of Diodorus Siculus.

MAGOUN, F. P., JR. *The Chaucer of Spenser and Milton.* M.P., XXV (1927), 129-36.

Urges a Chaucerian source for Sp's Blandamour. Agrees with Warton that Sp. drew the name Blandamour from the character mentioned in *Canterbury Tales,* B 2090, and known today as Pleyndamour. Speght's second ed. (1602) or reissue of same in (1687), only place where the spelling is Blandamoure.

MARSH, E. *An Emendation in Spenser's "Prothalamion."* London Mercury, IX (1924), 300.

"That is, in the concluding lines the phrase 'those two fairee Brides,' should read "birdes" (i. e. the 'swans' previously introduced)." (F. I. C.)

MARTIN, CLIFF. Edition of *View of Ireland.* (Cornell dissertation) announced 1924 in Bulletin of Spenser-Milton Group, M.L.A.

MC MURPHY, SUSANNAH JANE. *Spenser's Use of Ariosto for Alle-*

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gory. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1923. Published, Seattle, 1924.

MEZGER, FRITZ. *Kannte Spenser irische Gedichte?* Archiv., L, Jg. 81 (1926), 232-33.

Middlesex Parish Registers. Ed. by W. P. W. Phillimore and Thomas Gurney, London (1910), p. 145.

"Marriage of West Drayton, 1586 to 1813 enters marriage 21 July, 1586 of Edm. Spenser and Jone Bre(thri)dge. But see the date of Sp's sonnet to Harvey (18 July, 1586, from Dublin)." (F. I. C.)

MOORMAN, F. W. *William Browne and the Pastoral Poetry of the Elizabethan Age.* Strassburg, 1897, 92 ff. (F. I. C.)

NICHOLLS, NORTON. "Reminiscences of Gray." 1805, in *Letters of Thomas Gray.* Ed. by D. C. Tovey. London, 1904, II, 275-92.

274: "Spenser was among his favorite poets; he told me he never sat down to compose poetry without reading Sp. for a considerable time previously." (F. I. C.)

NICHOLSON, MARGARET ERSKINE. *Realistic Elements in Spenser's Style.* S.P., XXI (1924), 382-98.

"An analysis of the passages in Sp. marked by realistic and local touches. Irish local color, etc." (F. I. C.)

NOTCUTT, H. CLEMENT. *Spenser's Wonderful Line.* Spectator (1925), 305. (The Univ. of Stellenbosch, S. Africa.)

FQ., Book I. canto xi., verse 45.

It chaunst (eternall God that chaunce did guide)
As he recoyled backward in the mire
His nigh forwearied feeble feet did slide,
And downe he fell, with dread of shame sore terrifide.

———. *"The Faerie Queene" and its Critics.* Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association. XII (1926), 63-85.

PADELFORD, F. M. *The Spiritual Allegory of the "Faerie Queene," Book One.* J.E.G.P., XXII (1923), 1-17.

A study of the sources and interpretation of the spiritual allegory of *FQ.*, Book I. On the formal side, indebted to med. and Italian Ren. romances, morality plays, and moral allegories of the earlier

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Tudor period, and Aristotle's *Ethics*. On spiritual side, indebted to idealism of Protestant Christianity, espec. as found in *Institutes* of Calvin, and idealism of Plato and his Italian followers. The interpretation shows Sp's conception of the training of a person in the virtue that should be foremost in the life of the ideal gentleman.

PADELFORD, F. M. *The Allegory of Chastity in the "Faerie Queene."* S.P., XXI (1924), 367-81.

"A study of the allegory of Book III. Expounds and defends its plan and structure. Sp's conception of Chastity as a womanly virtue, source of conception, episodes of the book." (F. I. C.)

PADELFORD, F. M. and MAXWELL, W. C. *Compound words in Spenser's Poetry.* J.E.G.P., XXV (1926), 498-516.

Consideration of Sp's use of compounds and conclusions warranted from use. Sp's compounds were those of accepted diction, and used without artistic intent; those coined or employed for poetic effect. Study of the latter. May be classified as verbal adjectives, participles in a participial office and verbal adjectives in predicate position; nouns, verbs, and adverbs. Largest class is verbal adjectives, verbs, and adverbs. Lists compounds in alphabetical order, indicates where they occur, the number of times each type appears in a particular poem, and the total number of compounds in each poem. Shows the relation of frequency of compounds to order of writing later books of *FQ*. Shows that Book V was possibly written before Book IV.

PADELFORD, F. M. and O'CONNOR, MATTHEW. *Spenser's Use of the St. George Legend.* S.P., XXIII (1926), 142-56.

Sp. selected St. George as the fitting hero who would serve the purpose of spiritual and political allegory in Book I, *FQ*. His sources were probably the trans. by Caxton (1487) as *Golden Legend*, and Barclay's *The Lyfe of the Glorious Martyr Saint George* (prob. trans. from Mantuan). An equally important presumptive source is a so-called tapestry poem by John Lydgate, *Life of Saint George*.

PARKER, ROSCOE E. *Spenser's Language and the Pastoral Tradition.* Language, I, 80-7.

PECK, WALTER EDWIN. *The Poet's Poet.* L.T.S. (Jan. 1, 1925), 9.

Expression first used by Arthur Brook (John Chalk Claris) in his *Elegy on Death of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 1822.

PEERCE, G. A. *Red Cross Knight and The Legend of Britomart.* John Martin's bookhouse, 1924.

PEIRCE, MARJORIE. *The Allusions to Spenser up to 1650.* Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1927.

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PERKS, MARTIN T. Ed. of *View of Ireland* in preparation 1923-24. Probably to be published by the Clarendon Press. (Text based on all the MSS.).

PIENAAR, W. J. B. *Edmund Spenser and Janker van der Noot.* English Studies, VIII (1926), 33-44; 67-76.

Shows the relation of Sp. and v. d. Noot in the production of *Theatre of Worldlings* and the influence of v. d. Noot on Sp. French was the working basis of the trans. and Italian and Dutch versions were consulted. Shows that Sp. was the young collaborator who naturally clung to the French. Considers the *Theatre* as a landmark in national literature. Its influence on Sp. is seen in phraseology of Sept. eclogue, allegory, pictorial elements and many characterizations in *FQ*. A goodly number of the *Complaints* grew out of the influence of *Theatre*. v. d. Noot's influence is seen "weaving in and out" of many of his other works.

PLOMER, H. R. *Edmund Spenser's Handwritings.* L.T.S., Correspondence (April 26, 1923).

A notice of finding a document in Irish State papers that settles problem of Sp's hand-writing.

———. *Edmund Spenser's Handwriting.* M.P., XXI (1923), 201-7.

Consideration of two forms of hand writing used in Eliz's time, "Italian hand" and "secretary." Sp. learned both. His characteristic signature was Italian. Evidence gained from documents in Irish State papers of his secretary hand.

POPE, EMMA FIELD. *The Reflection of Renaissance Criticism in Edmund Spenser's "Faerie Queene."* University of Chicago, *Abstracts of Theses, Humanistic Ser.*, II, Chicago, 1926, 393-400.

———. *Renaissance Criticism and the Diction of the "Faerie Queene."* P.M.L.A., XLI (1926), 575-619.

Traces the Ren. theory of diction from classic sources through Italy, France, and England. Discusses the principles of this theory, the enriching of the vernacular, the use of archaisms as a literary device, the preservation of decorum in all its phases. Applies this theory to *FQ*., and analyses the outstanding feature, viz., copiousness, so called archaisms; the musical quality of Sp's diction; and shows the relationship between the theory of his age and his practice.

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POPE, EMMA FIELD. *The Critical Background of the Spenserian Stanza.* M.P., XXIV (1926), 31-54.

A general résumé of the struggle in Ren. between adherents of quantitative verse and the creators of vernacular literature. Sidney adhered to the classical training and taste. Sp's theory—combination of imitated forms in a new creation. Upon this basis Sp. constructed the epic stanza. Accepted theory of the structure of his stanza—refuted on the ground that there is no relation of tone or quality between the verse of Chaucer and Lindsay and Sp's stanza; that partial agreement of rhyme scheme is accidental; that a structure made up of distinct elements would keep some trace of its original components; that no notable work, which would have tempted Sp. to rivalry, existed in the meter of the double quatrains. New theory—Sp. turned to Italian sources; he rejected the ottava rima of Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso as too badly initative for his own dignity. Found in terza rima of Dante a medium dignified by its use in a great epic. For stanzaic form, the nine-line madrigal, recognized by all critics as a stanzaic form of terza rima, was his direct model.

POWELL, FREDERCK YORK. *Some Words on Allegory in England.* Privately Printed Opuscula issued to Members of the Sette of Odd Volumes, XXXVIII. London, 1910, pp. 30-34.

PRESCOTT, HENRY W. *The Development of Virgil's Art.* Chicago, 1927.

Quotes Spenser's *Virgils Gnat* on page 28 and on page 31, ll. 78-88 and 282-288 respectively.

PREVITÉ-ORTON, C. W. *Political Satire in English Poetry.* Cambridge, 1910, 48-54.

RENWICK, WM. L. *Edmund Spenser: Selections, with Essays by Hazlitt, Coleridge, and Leigh Hunt.* Oxford, 1923.

———. *Edmund Spenser: an essay on Renaissance Poetry.* New York, 1925.

Rev. in Literary Review (June 27, 1925), 5; Nation (July 8, 1925); *Nation and Athenæum* (April 25, 1925); New Statesman (May 30, 1925); L.T.S. (April 30, 1925); Philological Quarterly, VI (1927), 221-22.

A re-creation of the background and thought in which Sp. lived and wrote. Emphasis is placed on ideas, especially critical theories about the ways of writing, rather than on the events of his time. Shows Sp. the concious artist, with strong convictions as to the

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value of a poet and a ready assurance in the reward. Pictures him as the summation of the English Renaissance.

RICKERT, EDITH. *Propaganda and Satire in "A Midsummer Night's Dream."* M.P., XXI (1923), 137, 148, 154.

ROWE, KENNETH T., of Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, is writing a dissertation on *Spenser and Ovid.* 1923.

SANDISON, HELEN E. *Spenser's Mansilia.* L.T.S. (September 8, 1927), 608.

Sp. makes clear in *C.C.* (I, 510) that Mansilia, trainbearer to Cynthia, and next her in nobility, is Helena, Marchioness of Northampton, to whom the poet had recently dedicated his *Daphnaida.* Two contemporary descriptions of this lady give her history briefly and bear out Sp's praises of her; one is her epitaph, on the monument in Salisbury Cathedral to her and her second husband, Sir Thos. Gorges; the other is entered in a scroll of her descendants, beautifully drawn, with portraits of her, her two husbands, and her children. This Lady Helena, or Mansilia, can obviously stand as a prototype for the gentle Amoret, *FQ.*, III, vi, 51-52.

SANFORD, EZEKIEL. *The Works of the British Poets, with lives on the authors.* Philadelphia, 1819. "First American Edition of the British Poets. In fifty volumes."

3-16: "Life of Sp., selections from *FQ.* I-III, Sonnets, *Epithalamion,* and *Hymns.*" (F. I. C.)

SAURAT, D. *Les Idées Philosophiques de Spenser.* Arsbok, 1924: Yearbook of the New Society of Letters at Lund. p. 251.

———. *La Sapeince de Spenser, et la Schekina de la Cabale.* Revue de Littérature Comparée, VI (1926), 5-15.

Thinks the person termed "Sapience" in the second half of *Hymn of Heavenly* Beauty was obtained from the Matron of the Cabalists. A study of the Parallel characteristics.

SCHMID, CHRISTIAN H. *Biographie der Dichter.* Leipzig, 1769.

"Zweiter Theil (1770), 148-236, a life, of Sp. along the lines of the seventeenth and eighteenth century biographies; cites Warton, etc., analyzes the *FQ.*, with some general criticism. Quotes Hughes (in trans.) at length. Pp. 234-36, on Sp's influence." (Copy in the B.M.) (F. I. C.)

SCOTT, J. G. *Sources of Spenser's "Amoretti."* M.L.R., XXII (1927), 189-95.

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SEATON, ETHEL. *Phineas Fletcher—a new MS.* L.T.S. (March 22, 1923), 199.

Rev. by F. S. Boas, L.T.S. (March 29, 1923), 216.

"A MS. of F. in Sion College, which includes *Brittain's Ida* under the title of *Venus and Anchises*, with variants, also an unprinted *Epithalamion*, by F. Proof of F's authorship." (F. I. C.)

Selections from the Poetry of Edmund Spenser. Ed. by G. B. Sellon. London (1893), 1905. (F. I. C.)

SHIPLEY, JOSEPH T. *Spenserian Prosody: the couplet forms.* S. P., XXI (1924), 594-615.

A study of the couplet forms in *M.H.T.*, *C.C.C.H.A.*, and of ecologues Febr., May, Sept. Shows that it is reasonable to suppose Sp. recognized the value of the final "e" in Chaucer and that the form of his poems in question differs in such a way from Chaucer that, even if Sp. were ignorant of Chaucer's verse form, his verses are not in mistaken imitation of the Chaucerian. To disregard these facts impugns the intelligence and technical mastery of one of our greatest poets.

SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. "Discourse on Irish Affairs." Cotton MS. Titus, Bxii. Printed in Sidney's *Defense of Poetry.* Ed. by A. Feuillerat. Cambridge (1923), pp. 46-50. (Holography.)

"A defense of Sir H. Sidney's policy in Ireland written 1577-78. A fragment. For the criticism of Sidney to which this is an answer, see Cotton MS. Titus Bx, 115 ff." (F. I. C.)

SILLS, KENNETH C. M. *Virgil in the Age of Elizabeth.* The Classical Journal, VI (1910), 123-31.

SPENSER, EDMUND. *The Wedding songs of Edmund Spenser: being the "Prothalamion," and "Epithalamion."* Printed from the best editions with wood-cuts by Ethelbert White. Waltham St. Lawrence, Berkshire, 1923.

———. *Spenser's Minor poems, containing the "Shepherds Calender," "Complaints," "Daphnaida," "Colin Clouts Come Home Again," "Amoretti," "Hymnes," "Epithalamion," "Prothalamion," Sonnets and sundrie other verses.* Chelsea, 1925.

———. *Sonnets and Poems* (selected), with biographical intro-

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duction by Hannaford Bennet. (The Carlton Classics, 152 pp.) London, 1924.

SPENSER, EDMUND. *The Shepheards Calendar.* Cambridge, 1923 (Prefatory note signed by A. Attwater.)

————. *The Faerie Queene,* disposed into twelve books fash ioning xii morall vertues by Edmund Spenser. Chelsea. 1923.

————. *The Faerie Queene, Book V.* Ed. by E. H. Blackney. London, Blackie, 1914. (With introduction and notes "For young students.") (F. I. C.)

————. *The Shepheards Calendar.* (Cambridge "Plain Texts"), Cambridge, 1923.

————. *Faerie Queene.* Paraphrases: The Knights of the *Faerie Queene,* Tales retold from Spenser, by M. Sturt and E. C. Oakden, Treasuries of Literature. London, 1924.

————. *The Sonnets and Poems of Spenser.* (The Pilgrims Books.)
Notice of reprint in L.T.S., 1925.

————. *Knight of the Red Cross of Holiness.* Book I in a modernized text. Preface signed William Horton. London (John Mason), 1850. (F. I. C.)

————. *The Sonnets and Poems of Edmund Spenser.* (The Pilgrims Books.) London: Philip Allan, 1925.

————. *Epithalamion,* with introduction and notes by Cortland Van Winkle. New York, 1926.

————. *Faerie Queene.* Paraphrases: The Approach to Spenser. (Formerly known as "The Gateway to Spenser.") Prose tales by E. Underdown with extracts from *The Faerie Queene.* "Teaching of English Series No. 7." London, 1925.

————. *"Amoretti" and "Epithalamion";* the edition of 1595. (English replicas) 1927. (Payson and Clark.)

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STOVALL, FLOYD. *Feminine Rimes in "Faerie Queene."* J.E.G.P., XXVI (1927), 91-95.

One regular rime in the first three books; sixty-three in last three. Explained on the basis of Sp's belief that fem rime impaired serious poem. At time he started Book IV, he thought the poem was too stiff metrically, and so returned to fem. rime. Accounts for the unusual frequency of fem rimes in beg. of Book IV. Later returned to more serious vein.

Tales from the "Faerie Queene." Told by Clara Thomson, illustrated by Helen Stratton. Sheldon, South Devon, 1902. (F. I. C.)

TAYLOR, RUPERT. *The Political Prophecy in England.* Columbia Dissertation. New York, ——, pp. 131-2.

TAYLOR, A. E. *Spenser's Knowledge of Plato.* M.L.R., XIX (1924), 208-210.

"That *FQ.*, II, vii, 54, and IV, introductory stanzas iii, are due to imperfect recollections of a passage in Cicero's *Tusculans*. Doubts whether Sp. knew Plato at first hand." (F. I. C.)

The Progress of Time: or *An emblematical representation of the Four Seasons and Twelve Months as marching in procession round their Annual Circle.* In imitation of Sp's *Faerie Queene.* London, 1749.

"All engraved in italic script. Each month and season celebrated in copies of verse (couplets), supposed to imitate Sp's style. A sort of gift-book." (Copy in B.M.) (F. I. C.)

THOMPSON, NATHALEE QUITMAN. *Spenser's Treatment of Love and Friendship Compared with Castiglione's.* Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1927.

TILLEY, M. P. *The Comedy "Lingua" and "The Faerie Queene."* M.L.N., XLII (1927), 150-57.

A study of the source of *Lingua*. Indebted to Alione's *L'Omo* for the theme; main action based on canto ix, Book II of *FQ.*, with details borrowed from cantos xi and xii of same book. *FQ.* influenced the allegory, plot, characters, and phrasing of *Lingua*.

TREENER, A. *The Sea in English Literature.* London, 1926.

WAIBEL, K. *Phineas Fletcher's "Purple Island" in ihrer abhängigkeit von Spenser's "Faerie Queene."* Englische Studien, LVIII, No. 3 (1924), 321-67.

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WANN, LOUIS. *The Rôle of Confidant(e) in the Renaissance Epic. Anglia,* LI (1927), 63-74.

Section V deals with "The Confidant [e] in the *Faery Queen.*"

WEEVER, J. *Faunus and Melliflora,* or the original of the English Satyres, 1600. A unique (and unrecorded) volume, in catalogue No. 384 (1924) of B. Quaritch.

Near the end occur these lines:

> By some great power of heavenly influence
> The Fairies proud full stout hardy knights,
> In iust, in tilts, in tournaments and fights
> As Spenser showes. But Spenser now is gone
> You Faery Knights, your greatest loss bemone.

WELLS, WHITNEY. *Spenser's Dragon.* M.L.N., XLI (1926), 143-57.

Consideration of the romance and direct source of Sp's dragon in Book I, Canto xi, of *FQ.* Vision of Tundale undoubtedly the direct source. Original hint may have come from *Houn of Bordeaux,* which is near Tundale's version.

WELPLEY, W. H. *Spenser and Elizabeth Boyle.* L. T. S., (May 24, 1923).

"Answers Garrod (see *L.T.S.* May 10, 1923). With documents as to her third (?) husband, Roger Seckerstone and his wife. As to Sp's purchase of Renny." (F. I. C.)

———. *Edmund Spenser: Some new discoveries and the corrections of some old errors.* Notes and Queries, CXLVI, No. 27 (1924), 445; Notes and Queries, CXLVII, No. 1 (1924), 35.

New facts concerning Eliz. Boyle obtained: 1. A Chancery lawsuit, the documents of which were preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin, Perregrene (Peregrine) Spenser *vs.* Frances Marshiall, 9 July, 1622. Peregrine, Sp's younger son, avers in his statement of the case that his mother Eliz. was in Aug. 1600, the wife of Roger Seckerstone. Gives date of his mother's death, 23 August, 1622. 2. In "The Corporate Records of Youghal," is an entry, 3 May, 1616, of an Indenture between Sir Richard Boyle of Youghal and Eliz. Boyle als Seckerstone of Kilcoran, widow. 3. In Lismore Papers, 3 March, 1612, Sir Richard Boyle records the marriage "in my study in Youghal," of Capt. Robert Tynt and "my kinswoman Mrs. Eliz. Boyle als Seckerstone." The Chancery lawsuit is of great significance. The plaintiffs were Edmund Spenser, his wife Eliz., and George and Alexander Boyle, her brothers. From evidence obtained in the statement of this suit.

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it is safe to conclude that the plaintiffs were the poet Sp., his wife and his brothers-in-law; that Sp's wife was the daughter of Stephen Boyle of Bradden; that her mother's name was Joan; that Joan Boyle married secondly Ferdinando Freckleton; that Eliz. Boyle became entitled to her legacy, left her by her father, when she married Spenser 11 June, 1594, and that she may have been no more than eighteen years of age, a supposition born out by the fact, that marrying Capt. Tynte in 1612, she bore him seven children, and died in 1622. Definite information about Sp's children. Ed. Sp. had three children (no more) viz., Sylvanus, Peregrine, and Catharine. The story that a child of his burned in Kilcolman Castle, by Irish rebels, in 1589, is mere gossip. The fourth son named Lawrence, who is ascribed to Sp., was a yeoman farmer of Kilpatrick near Bandon Co. Cork. His only daughter may have been named after his wife's grandmother.

WIFFEN, JE(REMIAH). *Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell.* London (1833), pp. 54-55. (F. I. C.)

WILSON, F. P. *Spenser and Ireland.* R.E.S., II (1926), 456-67.

MS. Rawl. A. 317 in Bodleian Library, records "Receipts and charges" of the Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, Sir Henry Wallop, from Sept. 30, 1588, to Sept. 30, 1591. Shows bill of May, 1590 probably was made to Sp. in person. It has been supposed by biographers that Sp. left Ireland with Raleigh in autumn, 1589, and did not return until autumn of 1591. This document does not prove that Sp. was in Ireland May 30, 1590, but throws burden of proof on those who argue other wise.

WINGFIELD-STRATFORD, ESMÉ. *The History of English Patriotism.* London (1913), I, 220-25.

WOOD, ATHENAE OXON. Ed. by Bliss, I, 270.

"Spenser, as I have been informed, was poet laureate of Queen Eliz." (F. I. C.)

Illinois Wesleyan University.

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THE WRITINGS OF KEATS'S FRIEND REYNOLDS

By GEORGE L. MARSH

Reynolds, the friend of Keats, is known by those who have wandered on by-paths in the garden of that great poet to have been himself a humble courtier of the muse; but in none of the meager discussions of him is there an adequate indication of the amount of his literary work and its variety. The extent to which his writings have been heretofore unidentified is shown in the following chronological list by printing in bold-face the titles here first assigned to Reynolds. Titles in capitals are those of separately published books or pamphlets. Certain general facts on which this bibliography gives specific details are stated in my Introduction to a recent volume of the "Oxford Miscellany" series entitled *John Hamilton Reynolds, Poetry and Prose,* to which I shall occasionally refer.[1] The list follows, with such comments as to identification or other matters as seem necessary.

1814

1 SAFIE. AN EASTERN TALE. By J. H. Reynolds. 8vo. pp. 91. 1136 lines.

Printed for James Cawthorn and John Martin. London, 1814 [February].

Reviewed in: *British Critic,* Feb., 1814; new ser., I, 210.
Anti-Jacobin Review, Feb., 1814; XLVI, 150.
Critical Review, March, 1814; 4th ser., V, 318.
Theatrical Inquisitor, April, 1814; IV, 229.
Monthly Review, Sept., 1814; LXXV, 60.

2 **A Paraphrase of Catullus's Address to his Vessel.** 35 lines.

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Inquirer or Literary Miscellany,* May, 1814, p. 17.

It seems entirely safe to identify this and other *Inquirer* matter similarly signed as by the young Reynolds, from the fact that the publisher of the *Inquirer* was John Martin of Holles Street, Cavendish Square, who was one of the publishers of SAFIE. Moreover, in a pretty thorough examination of the periodicals of the time I have found no other "J. H. R." See *J. H. R., Poetry and Prose,* pp. 14, 15.

[1] London, Humphrey Milford, 1928. This book will be referred to as *J. H. R., Poetry and Prose.*

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3 **On the Character of Hamlet.** (Prose.)

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Inquirer*, May, 1814, p. 94.

4 **Stanzas to * * *** 48 lines.

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Inquirer*, May, 1814, p. 104.

Same poem with the title, "The Memory of the Beloved," was again printed in the *London Chronicle*, Jan. 23/24, 1817, signed "J. H. R."

5 THE EDEN OF IMAGINATION. A POEM. By J. H. Reynolds. 4to. pp. 41. 379 lines.

Printed for James Cawthorn and John Martin. London, 1814 [dedication dated August].

Includes, within the title poem, A Song; also, A Recollection.

Reviewed in: *Critical Review*, Nov., 1814; 4th ser., VI, 479.

British Critic, July, 1815; new ser., IV, 95.

1815

6 **The Song of a Spanish Lover to his Mistress.** 64 lines.

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Inquirer*, January, 1815, p. 332.

7 **The Hand.** 29 lines.

Signed "J. H. R. Lambeth" in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1815, LXXXV[1], 63.

For evidence of residence of the Reynolds family in Lambeth see *J. H. R., Poetry and Prose*, p. 11.

8 ? AN ODE. [Anon.] Martin, Holles Street, 1815. 8vo. pp. 18.

Reviewed in the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, April, 1815; XLVIII, 372.

I have not seen this Ode and failed to find trace of a copy of it in the British Museum; but the review just mentioned seems pretty definitely to indicate that this is the poem meant by "T. M. T." when, in *Notes and Queries* for October 4, 1856, 2nd ser., II, 274), he ascribes to Reynolds "an Ode, on the overthrow of Napoleon." An inquiry of mine in *Notes and Queries* for June 26, 1926, CL, 459, regarding this Ode, has thus far remained unanswered, so far as I am informed.

9 [An article on] **Wordsworth.** (Prose)

Signed "R." in *The Champion*, Dec. 10, 1815, p. 398.

At least since the publication of Milnes's *Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of John Keats* in 1848 (see p. 91 of the first edition) it has been known from letters of Keats that Reynolds wrote dramatic criticism for the Sunday newspaper, *The Champion;* but no one seems

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heretofore to have gone through the files of that journal for the purpose of gaining some idea of the amount and kind of Reynolds's work. I have not attempted on internal evidence to identify unsigned comments on contemporary plays, though it might be possible to do so; my list here includes only poems and prose articles signed "J. H. R."—or in a few instances "R." but apparently by the same hand. Four of the poems signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion* were included by Reynolds in the books numbered 22 and 48 below.

1816

10 **On the Early Dramatic Poets.** (Prose)

Signed "R." in *The Champion*, Jan. 7, 1816, p. 6.

Compare number 13 below for identification of "R" and "J. H. R."

11 **Stanzas** composed under an oak that grows over a brook in Bradgate Forest. 24 lines.

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, Feb. 18, 1816, p. 54. Dated August, 1815.

12 **Sonnet, to Wordsworth.**

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, Feb. 18, 1816, p. 54.

13 **On the Early English Dramatists,** No. II. (Prose)

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, March 3, 1816, p. 70.

Compare number 10 in this list.

14 **To Spenser** (sonnet).

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, March 10, 1816, p. 78.

15 **The Pilgrimage of Living Poets to the Stream of Castaly.** (Prose)

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, April 7, 1816, p. 110.

Copied in the *British Lady's Magazine*, June 1816, III, 418-420, under the heading "Wit of the Day," with the title, "Living Poets:—A Dream," signed "J. H. R."

See number 47 in this list for a later appearance of what is largely this article.

16 **The Reader,** Number IV. (Prose, on Chaucer)

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, May 26, 1816, p. 166.

17 **The Reader,** Number V. (Prose)

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, June 2, 1816, p. 173.

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18 **The Reader,** Number VII. (Prose, on *The Spectator*)

Signed "I. H. R."—evidently error for "J. H. R."—in *The Champion*, June 16, 1816, p. 190.

19 **To Ella.** 16 lines.

Signed "R" in *The Champion*, June 30, 1816, p. 206.

20 From the Italian. 32 lines.

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, July 21, 1816, p. 230.

Printed also, without signature, in the *London Chronicle*, July 25/26, 1816; also, with the title, "Stanzas," in THE NAIAD, etc. (see number 22, below).

21 The Fairies. 130 lines.

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, Aug. 4, 1816, p. 245.

Reprinted as the last poem in THE NAIAD, etc. (No. 22).

22 THE NAIAD: A TALE. WITH OTHER POEMS [Anon.] 8vo. pp. xii, 64.

Printed for Taylor and Hessey. London, 1816 (apparently August).

Includes: The Naiad, Stanzas ("When first I lov'd"), Margaret, A Tale, Stanzas ("Thou art not lost"—No. 20 above), The Fairies (No. 21 above).

Reviewed in: *European Magazine*, Sept., 1816; LXX, 250.
Augustan Review, Oct., 1816; III, 345.
Critical Review, Oct., 1816; 5th ser., IV, 344.
Eclectic Review, Nov., 1816; new ser., VI, 489.
Gentleman's Magazine, Nov., 1816; LXXXVI[2], 436.
Hunt's *Examiner*, Dec. 1, 1816, p. 761 (the article on "Young Poets," dealing also with Shelley and Keats).
Literary Panorama, Feb., 1817; new ser., V, 758.
Monthly Review, March, 1817; LXXXII, 323.
British Critic, Oct., 1817; new ser., VIII, 415.

23 **The Reader,** Number XVI. (Prose)

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, Nov. 24, 1816, p. 373.

24 Sonnet to Haydon.

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, Nov. 24, 1816, p. 374.

25 **Boswell's Visit.** (Prose)

Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, Dec. 1 and Dec. 15, 1816, pp. 381, 397.

See number 44, below, for a republication of what is mainly this article.

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26 Sonnet [alluding to Hunt's *Story of Rimini*].
Signed "R." in *The Champion*, Dec. 8, 1816, p. 390.
See *J. H. R., Poetry and Prose*, p. 18.

27 **Song. To Albion.** 16 lines.
Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, Dec. 29, 1816, p. 414.

1817

28 **Lines** ("Through these still woods," etc.). 14 lines.
Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, Feb. 9, 1817, p. 46.

29 **Stanzas** suggested by one of the Idylls of Bion. 20 lines.
Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, March 30, 1817, p. 102.

30 Sonnet—to Keats, on reading his Sonnet written in Chaucer.
Reynolds appears not to have published this sonnet, but it is ascribed to him in Woodbridge's Commonplace Book, where it is said to be dated Feb. 27, 1817.

31 **Sonnet** ("O Poetry, thou fairer maid," etc.).
Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, March 23, 1817, p. 93.

32 **Sonnet** composed on seeing an unexpected snowy morning.
Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, March 30, 1817, p. 10.
Dated (by error?), Hampstead, March 1816.

33 **Stanzas** ("When the days of the summer," etc.). 16 lines.
Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, June 15, 1817, p. 190.

34 **Literature.** (Review of Hazlitt's *Characters of Shakespear's Plays.*)
Signed "R." in *The Champion*, July 20, 1817, p. 230; completion of the review, July 27, p. 237, unsigned, but apparently by the same hand.

35 Devon. 163 lines.
Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, July 27, 1817, p. 238.
This poem was reprinted in THE GARDEN OF FLORENCE, etc. (No. 48 below).

36 "Whence is the secret charm," etc. 48 lines.
Signed "J. H. R." in *The Champion*, Aug. 31, 1817, p. 278.
Reprinted as "The Wood" in THE GARDEN OF FLORENCE, etc. (No. 48 below).

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1818

37 **Pulpit Oratory.** Three prose articles in John Hunt's *Yellow Dwarf,* Feb. 7, 14, and 28.

Claimed for Reynolds because of the following remark by Keats in a letter of February 16: "Reynolds has been writing two very capital articles in the 'Yellow Dwarf.' on Popular Preachers." The third article of February 28 is obviously by the same hand. Nothing else in the *Yellow Dwarf* fits this ascription.

38 Farewell to the Muses (sonnet).

Inscribed in Reynolds's hand, with the date "14 Feb., 1818," in the copy of Shakspere which Reynolds afterward gave to Keats; signed "J. H. R." Not published by Reynolds, so far as I have learned.

39 Sonnets (on Robin Hood). Three sonnets signed "J. H. R." in the *Yellow Dwarf,* February 21.

Two of these sonnets had been sent in a letter to Keats and are discussed in Keats's letter to Reynolds of February 3, in which Keats sent his "Robin Hood" in answer to Reynolds's sonnets. The sonnets were later included in THE GARDEN OF FLORENCE, etc. (No. 48).

40 To F— B—, aged three years. 94 lines.

Signed "J. H. R." in Leigh Hunt's *Examiner,* June 14, p. 377, and later reprinted in THE GARDEN OF FLORENCE, etc. (No. 48).

41 The Quarterly Review—Mr. Keats.

An unsigned article in *The Alfred,* a weekly newspaper of Exeter, October 6; reprinted by Hunt in *The Examiner,* October 11. Mentioned by Keats as "written by Reynolds," in his October chronicle letter to his brother and sister-in-law in America.

1819

42 PETER BELL: A Lyrical Ballad. Signed "W. W." 213 lines. 8vo. pp. 29.

Printed for Taylor and Hessey. London, 1819 (April). A second edition before the end of April.

Reviewed in: *London Times,* April 24.
Literary Journal, April 24, p. 243.
London Chronicle, April 24.
Examiner, April 25, p. 270 (by Keats).
Champion, April 25, p. 266.
New Times, April 26.
Literary Gazette, May 1, p. 275.

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The Alfred of Exeter, May 11 (a review which one suspects of being by Reynolds himself).
Eclectic Review, May 1819; new ser., XI, 473.
Gentleman's Magazine, May; LXXXIX[1], 441.
Constable's Edinburgh Magazine, May; IV, 425.
Theatrical Inquisitor, June; XIV, 449.
Monthly Review, August; LXXXIX, 422.

Reprinted by A. E. H. Swaen in *Anglia*, XLVII (1923), 162-172, and in some anthologies.

43 One, Two, Three, Four, Five: by Advertisement, a Musical Entertainment in one Act.

Acted at the English Opera House, July 17, 1819, and many times thereafter. Published anonymously as No. 236 in J. Cumberland's *British Theatre*, Vol. XXXI.

Known from letters of Keats to have been by Reynolds. See Forman, *Complete Works of John Keats* (Glasgow, 1901), V, 78, 104.

44 **Boswell Redivivus, a Dream.** (Prose)

Dated at London; signed "S. D."; in *Scots Magazine*, October, 1819; new ser., V, 304-310.

Claimed for Reynolds because it is a but slightly changed version of number 25 above. See *J. H. R., Poetry and Prose*, p. 33.

1820

45 Prologue to Knowles's *Virginius*. By J. H. Reynolds, Esq.

First played at Covent Garden, May 17, 1820.

46 THE FANCY: a Selection from the Poetical Remains of the late Peter Corcoran, of Gray's Inn, student at law. With a brief Memoir of his life. 8vo., pp. xxvi, 110.

Printed for Taylor and Hessey. London, 1820 (June).

Includes: Stanzas ("Hark! Italy's music"; in Preface).
Sonnet ("Were this a feather"; in Preface).
Sonnet ("I once had thought"; in Preface).
King Tims the Great: an American Tragedy.
The Fields of Tothill: a Fragment.
Stanzas to Kate.
Peter Bell v. Peter Bell.
Lines to Philip Samson.
Sonnet on the Nonpareil.
Sonnet ("Where lilies lie").
Sonnet, on hearing St. Martin's bells, etc.
Stanzas ("'Tis vain to grieve").

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Stanzas, written during a voyage, etc.
Stanzas on revisiting Shrewsbury.
What is Life? Lines to ———.

Reviewed in:

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, June, 1820; VII, 294.
London Magazine, July, 1820; II, 71.
European Magazine, July, 1820; LXXVIII, 61.
Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review, July 8, 1820, p. 437.
Constable's Edinburgh Magazine (new ser. *Scots Magazine*), VII, 64.
New Monthly Magazine, Aug. 1, 1820; XIV, 174.
Lonsdale Magazine or Provincial Repository, Aug., 1820; I, 358.
E. W. Gosse, *Gossip in a Library*, 1891.

Reprinted in 1905 by Elkin Mathews, London, with a Prefatory Memoir and Notes by John Masefield and thirteen illustrations by Jack B. Yeats.

47 **Living Authors, a Dream.** (Prose)

Dated at London, July 21; unsigned; in *Scots Magazine* (new series) for August, 1820; VII, 133.

A somewhat changed version of number 15 above. See also number 44, above.

1821

48 THE GARDEN OF FLORENCE AND OTHER POEMS. By John Hamilton [Reynolds]. 8vo. 174 pp.

John Warren. London, 1821 [May].

Includes:

Dedication to . . .
Advertisement.
The Garden of Florence. From Boccaccio.
The Romance of Youth.
Devon. (No. 35, above)
Song ("Go where the water," etc.).
Lines to a Valley.
The Wood. (No. 36, above)
Stanzas written in an Album.
Matin-Song.
Song ("That peasant girl's blue eyes").
Sonnet written under a Picture.
Sonnet to . . . [Keats], with the two following (Robin Hood sonnets). (No. 39, above)
Sonnet ("Sweet poets of the gentle," etc.).
Sonnet on the Picture of a Lady.
Sonnet ("Art thou now sitting," etc.).
Epistle to . . .

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To F . . . B . . . , aged three years. (No. 40, above)
Song, written to a favourite air.
The Ladye of Provence (preceded by Introductory Stanzas to Azile).

Reviewed in:
Examiner, June 17, 1821, p. 381.
London Magazine, July, 1821; IV, 57.
Constable's Edinburgh Magazine (new ser. *Scots Mag.*), July, 1821; IX, 52.
New Edinburgh Review, July, 1821; I, 273.
New Monthly Magazine, Oct. 1, 1821; new ser., III, 523.
Gentleman's Magazine, Oct., 1821; XCI², 338.
Literary Gazette, Oct. 13, 1821, p. 643..
Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review, Nov. 24, 1821, p. 736.
Monthly Review, Aug., 1822; XCVIII, 365.

49 The Coronation. Letter from a Gentleman in Town, to a Lady in the Country.

By "Edward Herbert," in *London Magazine*, Aug., 1821; IV, 184.

Various contemporary allusions by Hood (who was sub-editor of the *London* at this time) and others show "Edward Herbert" to have been Reynolds. See *J. H. R., Poetry and Prose*, pp. 27, 28, 32.

50 Edward Herbert's Letters to the Family of the Powells. No. II. Greenwich Hospital.

London Magazine, Nov., 1821; IV, 527.

1822

51 **Bradgate Park, the Residence of Lady Jane Grey.** (Prose)

Signed "E. H." [= Edward Herbert] in *London Magazine*, Feb., 1822; V, 166. Cf. No. 11, above.

52 The Green-Room. The Letters of Edward Herbert. No. III.

London Magazine, March, 1822; V, 236.

53 The Youthful Days of Mr. Mathews.

An entertainment for the comedian Charles Mathews, first acted March 11, 1822; written by Reynolds and R. B. Peake in collaboration, according to "The Manager's Note-Book" in the *New Monthly Magazine*, Jan., 1838; LII, 73. See also *J. H. R., Poetry and Prose*, p. 29.

I am not certain that there is in existence any complete text of this piece of work (or of numbers 59 and 61, below); but a full description and summary, with much of the "patter" and probably

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all of the songs, is to be found in *Mr. Mathews' at Home* (London, J. Limbird, n. d.); *The London Mathews* (London, ? 1825); and probably in *Memoirs of the Youthful Days of Mr. Mathews* (which I have not seen). The first two collections of Mathews entertainments just mentioned give no hints as to authorship, and probably it is impossible to determine the respective shares of Reynolds and his collaborator.

54 The Inside of a Stage Coach. Letters of Edward Herbert. No. IV.
London Magazine, Aug., 1822; VI, 163.

55 Gil Blas [an Operatic Drama].

Played at the English Opera House a number of times beginning August 15, 1822.

Attributed by the Hood family to Hood and Reynolds. Contemporary periodicals also assign a share to Peake.

See *J. H. R., Poetry and Prose,* pp. 29, 30.

I have not found evidence of any edition of this work or of any play based on *Gil Blas* that fits the descriptions of this one.

56 The Cockpit Royal. Edward Herbert's Letters. . . . No. V.
London Magazine, Nov., 1822; VI, 389.

1823

57 The Literary Police Office, Bow-Street. Edward Herbert's Letters. . . . No. VIII.
London Magazine, Feb., 1823; VII, 157.
Copied in *Galignani's Magazine,* February 1823, pp. 50-53.

There is inconsistency in the numbering of the Edward Herbert letters in the *London Magazine,* numbers VI and VII seeming to have been skipped. Editorial comments indicate the receipt of some contributions from "Herbert" that never were printed.

1824

58 A Pen and Ink Sketch of a Late Trial for Murder. . . . By Edward Herbert, Esq.
London Magazine, Feb., 1824; IX, 165.

59 A Trip to America.

Another entertainment for Charles Mathews, "written by Mr. J. Smith, assisted by Mr. J. H. Reynolds." See page 75 of the article cited in number 53, above.

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1825

60 ODES AND ADDRESSES TO GREAT PEOPLE. Anon. [by Hood and Reynolds]. 8vo.

Baldwin, Craddock, and Joy. London, 1825 (February). 2nd ed., 16mo., 1825; 3rd. ed., 8vo., 1826, with additions.
Includes:

a) Poems uniformly ascribed to Reynolds:
Ode to Mr. M'Adam.
Address to Mr. Dymoke, the Champion of England.
Address to Sylvanus Urban, Esq., Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine.
Ode to R. W. Elliston, Esq., the Great Lessee.
Address to . . . the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

b) Poem said by Hood to be by himself and Reynolds:
Address to Maria Darlington on her return to the stage.

c) Poems claimed by Reynolds to be by himself and Hood:
Ode to Mr. Graham, the aeronaut.
Ode to Joseph Grimaldi, Senior.
Address to the Steam Washing Company.
Ode to Captain Parry.
Ode to W. Kitchener, M. D.

d) Poems ascribed without dispute to Hood are not listed here.

See *J. H. R., Poetry and Prose*, pp. 30, 31, for discussion of the evidence as to the respective shares of the two authors of this work.
Reviewed in:
Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review, Feb. 26, 1825, p. 129.
Literary Gazette, March 5, 1825, p. 147.
London Times, March 9, 1825.
London Magazine, March, 1825; new ser., I, 347.
British Critic, March, 1825; new ser., XXIII, 295.
New Times, Apr. 12, 1825 (review by Lamb).
"Monthly Journal" of the *Literary Magnet*, III, 103.

61 Memorandum Book.

Another entertainment for Mathews, first presented March 10, 1825; by Peake and Reynolds (p. 76 of article cited under 53, above).

62 Remonstratory Ode from the Elephant at Exeter Change, to Mr. Mathews, etc.
London Magazine, June, 1825; new ser., II, 189.

Reprinted in Hood's *Whims and Oddities*, 1826, as "by a Friend"; declared to have been by Reynolds in Mrs. Mathews' *Memoirs* of her husband (London, 1839), III, 485.

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1829

Sonnet Copied from the Album of a Wholesale House in the City. By Edward Herbert, Esq.
In *The Gem,* a Literary Annual edited by T. Hood, p. 24.
Athenaeum, Jan. 12, p. 23.

1830

63 **The Pillory.** (Prose)
In Hood's *Comic Annual* for 1830, p. 27; stated in "Contents," p. xi, to be by "E. Herbert, Esq."

64 **Sonnet to Vauxhall.** By Edward Herbert, Esq.
Comic Annual, p. 38.

65 **To Fanny.**
Comic Annual, p. 85. Said in "Contents," p. xii, to be by "E. Herbert, Esq."

66 **The Royal Academy Exhibition.**
Athenaeum, June 5 and 12, pp. 347, 363.
I am greatly indebted to Mr. Edmund Blunden, who was formerly on the staff of the *Athenaeum,* for information that an office file of that journal exists in which the authorship of many articles in earlier volumes is indicated; and to Mr. John Randall, who retired as sub-editor in 1925 after fifty years' service to the *Athenaeum,* for an examination of that office file and a list of the contributions marked therein as by Reynolds. The list is certainly not complete, as Reynolds was one of the proprietors of the journal when it was started in 1828 and probably contributed from the beginning. Moreover, Mr. Randall reports that the file lacks manuscript indications of authorship in 1828, 1829, 1832, 1835, 1837, 1838, and by no means all articles are marked in other years. It may be assumed that 66 and all following numbers from the *Athenaeum* were by Mr. Randall found marked "Reynolds" in the office file unless some other reason for inclusion here is indicated. And all are reviews of books or comments on contemporary events (e. g., art exhibitions, etc.) unless otherwise described.

67 **The Oxonians; a Glance at Society.**
Athenaeum, June 19, p. 374.

68 **Various Subjects of Landscape . . . from Pictures . . .** by John Constable, R. A.
Athenaeum, June 26, p. 396.
A question mark precedes the "Reynolds" in this instance.

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69 **Water-Colour Exhibition.**
Athenaeum, July 3, p. 412.

70 **Lives of Remarkable Youth, of both Sexes.**
Athenaeum, July 17, p. 440.

71 **Mr. Kean's Benefit.**
Athenaeum, July 24, p. 461.

72 **The Juvenile Library, Vol. II.**
Athenaeum, Aug. 14, p. 497.

73 **Life of Lord Byron, by John Galt.**
Athenaeum, Sept. 4 and 11, pp. 552, 568.

74 **Conversations of James Northcote. . . .** By William Hazlitt.
Athenaeum, Oct. 2 and 23, pp. 611, 660.

75 **Galt's Life of Byron.** (Editorial defense of review numbered 73.)
Athenaeum, Oct. 2, p. 616.

76 **Juvenile Library, No. III.**
Athenaeum, Oct. 23, p. 657.

77 **The Gardens and Menagerie of the Zoological Society Delineated.**
Athenaeum, Oct. 23, p. 662.

78 **Maxwell: a Story of the Middle Ranks.** By Hook.
Athenaeum, Nov. 13, p. 712.

79 **Twelve Sketches,** illustrative of Sir Walter Scott's Demonology and Witchcraft. By George Cruikshank.
Athenaeum, Nov. 27, p. 749.

80 **The Comic Annual.** By Thomas Hood.
Athenaeum, Dec. 18, p. 792.

81 **Letters and Journals of Lord Byron. . . .** By Thomas Moore.
Athenaeum, Dec. 25, Jan. 1, pp. 801, 1 (1831).
No name is attached to a third notice of the same book on Jan. 8, p. 22.

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1831

82 **Miss Inverarity.** (Two poems with an introduction in prose; "Reynolds" at end of the group in the office file.)
Athenaeum, Jan. 1, p. 10.

83 **Military Memoirs of . . . Wellington.** By Captain Moyle Sherer.
Athenaeum, Jan. 8, 15, 22; pp. 17, 33, 57. Second notice marked "Swane & Reynolds."

84 **The Children in the Wood** (illustrated).
Athenaeum, Jan. 8, p. 24.

85 Prologue to *Olympic Revels* (a stage production by Madame Vestris).
Athenaeum, Jan. 8, p. 28.
Mentioned as by Reynolds in the *D. N. B.* sketch of Charles Dance (author of *Olympic Revels*), V, 460 (reissue of 1908).

86 **Olympic Theatre.**—Notice of . . . *Mis-Apprehension.*
Athenaeum, Feb. 5, p. 93.

87 **Attempts in Verse, by John Jones,** etc.
Athenaeum, Feb. 26, p. 130.

88 **Exhibition at the Suffolk Street Gallery.** (Notice marked "Reynolds & Self" [for Dilke?])
Athenaeum, March 26, p. 204.
Two more articles on the same exhibition, April 2 and 16, pp. 220, 252, are not marked as to authorship.

89 **Royal Academy.** (Notice marked "Reynolds & Self")
Athenaeum, May 14, p. 315.
Again two more articles on the same topic, May 21 and June 11, pp. 331, 380, are not marked.

90 **Matrimonial Advertisements.**
Athenaeum, June 18, p. 395.

91 **Lord Byron's English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.** Letter to the Editor, signed "One of the Hours of Idleness." Dated from the "Castle of Indolence, 4th Sept., 1831."
Athenaeum, Sept. 10, p. 585.

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92 **Journal of Richard Gossip, Esq.,** Manager, Dentist, Author, etc., etc. Letter to the Editor, signed "B."
Athenaeum, Oct. 1, p. 635.

93 **The Horseman's Manual,** etc.
Athenaeum, Nov. 5, p. 720.

94 **Hood's Comic Annual** for 1832.
Athenaeum, Dec. 10, p. 799.
A continuation of the review Dec. 17, p. 813, is not marked, but is plainly by the same hand.

95 **Byron's Letter to a Young Author.**
Athenaeum, Dec. 31, p. 841.
This is not marked in the file as by Reynolds, but includes a letter written to Reynolds by Byron, Feb. 26, 1814, in relation to R.'s first poem, SAFIE (number 1 in this list).

96 **The New Sporting Magazine.**
Athenaeum, Dec. 31, p. 847.

1832

97 **Letters of Edward Herbert.** New series. No. I.
Athenaeum, Jan. 7, p. 5.
As has been noted, the file of 1832 lacks indications of authorship, but evidently Reynolds attempted to revive interest in work under his old pseudonym of *London Magazine* days.

98 Sonnet to Retirement. (Signed "J. H. Reynolds")
Athenaeum, Jan. 7, p. 8.
This is a slightly changed reprint of the second of two sonnets that appeared in the Preface to THE FANCY (No. 46), 1820.

99 **Lines to Clarkson Stanfield,** on his Sketch of a Merchant in Venice. (Signed "J. H. R., 27th April, 1832")
Athenaeum, May 26, p. 336.

100 **Milton and Spenser.** Sonnet to a Friend. (Signed "J. H. R., 1817")
Athenaeum, July 7, p. 432.
The date and the contents of the sonnet suggest that the "friend" was Keats.

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101 **Lines to Miss F. Kemble** on the Flower Scuffle at Covent Garden Theatre. By Curl-pated Hugh.
Athenaeum, July 7, p. 436.

"Curl-pated Hugh" is said by Thomas Hood, Junior, to have been one of Reynolds's nicknames. See *Works of Hood* in 7 vols., edited by his son, 1862; II, 379.

1833

102 **Twenty-five Years in the Rifle Brigade.**
Athenaeum, Jan. 12, p. 23.

This is a second notice of the book; a first notice appeared Dec. 29, 1832, p. 841, without indication of authorship in the file; but since the file for 1832, as has been noted, generally lacks indications of authorship of reviews, it may doubtless be assumed that Reynolds wrote both articles.

103 **The Catechism of Whist.**
Athenaeum, Jan. 19, p. 40.

104 **A Ryghte Conceyted Verse toe Master Hoode,** etc.
Athenaeum, Jan. 12, p. 23.

Signed "Thomas Brown," but said by Mr. Blunden to be by Reynolds, apparently on the basis of some evidence obtained by Mr. B. during his *Athenaeum* days.

105. **Death of Edmund Kean.**
Athenaeum, May 18, p. 313.

106 **The Parson's Daughter.** By Hook.
Athenaeum, June 1, p. 339.

107 **Correspondence of Horace Walpole with Sir Horace Mann.**
Athenaeum, June 8, p. 354.

The review is continued June 15 and 22, pp. 382, 397, without further indication as to authorship.

108 **A History and Description of Modern Wines.**
Athenaeum, Oct. 5, p. 657.

109 **Love and Pride.** By Hook.
Athenaeum, Nov. 23 and 30, pp. 785, 804.

1834

110 **Lives and Exploits of English Highwaymen,** Pirates and Robbers, &c.
Athenaeum, Jan. 4, p. 6.

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111 **Lines written in a Lady's Album.** (Signed †, but marked "Reynolds")
Athenaeum, May 31, p. 414.

112 **A Match against Time.** (Poem signed "Eleanor Snowden," but marked "Reynolds")
Athenaeum, Aug. 30, p. 640.

1835

113 **A Garland for Grisi.**
Athenaeum, April 25, p. 322.
An unsigned poem ascribed by Mr. Blunden to Reynolds.

1836

114 **Attic Philosophy for 1836-37.** By a Wealthy Pauper.
Athenaeum, Dec. 31, p. 918.
A poem signed "R." and ascribed by Mr. Blunden to Reynolds.

1837

115 Farewell to Charles Kemble.
Athenaeum, Jan. 14, p. 33.
Verses written by Reynolds, set to music by Balfe, and sung at a farewell dinner to Kemble at the Garrick Club, January 10. The same poem (with slight variations) was reprinted in *Notes and Queries,* 4th series, VIII, 408; and also in Planché's *Recollections and Reflections* (rev. ed. of 1901, p. 253).

116 **Lines to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,** on reading her Works. (Signed "R")
Athenaeum, Jan. 28, p. 64.
Claimed for Reynolds because of number 118 below. One also suspects that, if the *Athenaeum* file for 1837 contained indications of authorship, Reynolds's name would be attached to reviews dealing with Lady Mary on pages 48 and 61 of the volume for 1837.

117 A Hazy Night.
New Monthly Magazine for February, XLIX, 230.
A humorous story signed "R.", said in the Table of Contents for the volume to be by Hamilton Reynolds.

118 A Gossip with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.
Bentley's Miscellany for February, I, 138.
Entered in Table of Contents as by Hamilton Reynolds.

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1838

119 Confounded Foreigners. A Farce in one act by J. H. Reynolds, Esq. Vol. III of The Acting National Drama, ed. by Benjamin Webster.

First performed Jan. 6, 1838, at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket. *The Athenaeum* for January 20, p. 52, contains a signed letter from Reynolds as to his authorship of the piece.

120 **Trade-itional Confessions.** No. I, The Pawnbroker. (Signed "H. R.")
New Monthly Magazine, Feb.; LII, 199.

The material and style suggest Reynolds, and the signature probably represents Hamilton Reynolds, the name by which he was commonly known at this time.

121 Monosania. Mr. Klünchünbrüch. (Signed "J. H. R.")
Bentley's Miscellany, March; III, 267.

Entered in Table of Contents as by J. Hamilton Reynolds.

122 **A Legend of a Committee of Paviours.** (Signed "J. H. R.")
New Monthly Magazine, April; LII, 562.

A humorous poem in the style of *Odes and Addresses.*

123 Stanzas on two Fox-hounds in the pack of J. C. Bulteel, Esq., M. P.
In *Sporting,* edited by "Nimrod." London, 1838.

The names of Reynolds and Hood are mentioned on the title page as contributors to the volume. This poem, dated "17 Oct., 1837" and signed "J. H. R.," is the only portion of the volume definitely identifiable as by Reynolds.

1839

124 **Sonnet written on the 21st of October,** 1839, the anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar. By Edward Herbert.
Bentley's Miscellany, November; VI, 542.

1844

125 **Oriana and Vesperella; or,** The City of Pearls. By John Hamilton.
Ainsworth's Magazine for Jan., Feb., March, April; V, 130, 242, 357, 432.

See the next number, and number 48.

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126 An Ode-let, to Master Izaak Walton. By John Hamilton.
Ainsworth's Magazine, V, 403.

I am indebted to Mr. Louis A. Holman, of Boston, for the information that this poem (with very slight variations), re-entitled "The Angler's Soliloquy," and stated to be by John Hamilton Reynolds, was later made the subject of an etching by Whistler which, with the poem, appeared in *Passages from Modern English Poets,* illustrated by the Junior Etching Club. London, Wm. Tegg; New York, Scribner, Welford, and Armstrong. 1875.

1845

127 The Mouser-Monarchy. By John Hamilton Reynolds.
New Monthly Magazine, Sept.; LXXV, 17.

Verse with a prose introduction embodying a citation from Shelley's Journal.

1846

128 **The Wall.** By John Hamilton, Esq.
New Monthly Magazine, Dec.; LXXVIII, 469.

A poem.

1847

129 **On the Opening the Ports of St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey.** By John Hamilton, Esq.
New Monthly Magazine, Feb.; LXXIX, 162.

Includes Reynolds's poem from ODES AND ADDRESSES to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, here signed "J. H. R."

130 **Have you heard a Lute?** A Song. By John Hamilton, Esq.
New Monthly Magazine, Feb.; LXXIX, 248.

131 The Two Enthusiasts (poems). No. 1, The Enthusiast Dead. No. II, The Living Enthusiast. By John Hamilton Reynolds.
Bentley's Miscellany, Feb.; XXI, 209.

1848

132 **The Dead Bird** (poem). (Signed "J. H. R.")
Athenaeum, Jan. 29, p. 111.

Extensive as the foregoing list is, it is doubtless incomplete as to contributions to *The Athenaeum* (as has already been noted in

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the comment on number 66), and it does not include contributions to the *Edinburgh Review,* the *Retrospective Review,* and the *Westminster Review,* which Reynolds is said to have made.[1] I have not found mention of Reynolds's name in any specific discussion of the authorship of articles in the three reviews just mentioned, and it does not seem reasonable to attempt to assign anything to him on internal evidence alone. Though additions to this bibliography, therefore, may be possible, I hope I have demonstrated that Reynolds was a more important figure in the literature of his time than has heretofore been realized.

The University of Chicago.

[1] By Dilke in the obituary notice in the *Athenaeum* for Nov. 27, 1852, p. 1296, and repeated by others.

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